

8/24 - Pak. Times - 500 DRA soldiers from 4 military posts in Bagh-i-Zamana, near Mazar-i-Sharif, defected last week. Reportedly the DRA is now drafting released prisoners (both criminal & political) and the new conscripts invite the mujahideen to attack the posts.
- CSM - Edward Girardet writes about Zahir Shah's chances. Excerpts follow:

The ex-monarch's prospects for regaining the Kabul throne still remain slight, but his presence, at least temporarily, as figurehead leader of the Afghan resistance could play a significant role in unifying its divisive guerrilla movements....

Despite considerable opposition to the King's return, particularly by the "fundamentalist" political parties in Peshawar, there appears to be increasingly widespread support for the idea among the nearly 3 million refugees (most of whom are Pushtun) in Pakistan as well as guerrilla fronts inside the country. Enthusiasm for the King, who is a member of the Pushtun Durrani tribe, among non-Pushtun elements such as the Tadjiks and Hazaras has not been so evident.

The support expressed among refugees, however, is not necessarily for the King himself but rather for a leader in a position to bring Afghanistan's varied and often feuding resistance organizations together. Frustrated and fatigued by the pressures of war, many Afghans feel that their struggle against the Soviets lacks direction.

While not demonstrating any diminished zeal to continue fighting, they blame this lack of direction to a great extent on the inability of the political parties to overcome their differences and get on with the real task at hand, namely to force the communists out. For them, Zahir Shah magically appears to hold the solution to all these problems.

"We would be prepared to accept Zahir Shah if he can end the war," said Lahoor Khan, talking for a group of some 30 male refugees at Kachacha Garhi Camp just outside Peshawar. "The people don't want political parties who only know how to fight amongst themselves."

For others, the return of the King would only be a stopgap until a more competent and universally acceptable leader has emerged from resistance ranks. ...

"The King is better than nothing, but we are afraid that there is something manipulative behind him," noted a mujahed commander from Kabul Province. ...

Unlike the "fundamentalists," the "moderates" have never hidden their desire to see the monarchy restored in one form or another. The "moderates," some of whom are directly related to the royal family, have nurtured "just-in-case" ties with the King since well before the Soviet invasion. But only now have they found it politically feasible actually to appeal openly for his return.



King Zahir

For most Afghans, the King has never been fondly remembered. Critics say that during his nearly 40-year reign he failed to embrace the true interests of his people. If anything, he was more renowned for his and his family's lavish and decadent lifestyle. . .

Whether the return of the King as a symbolic head of the resistance can change the course of the war is another question. Some observers argue that the strength of the Afghan resistance is that there is no one leadership. "An overall organization body would only make it a lot easier for the Soviets to infiltrate," said a West European diplomat in Islamabad.

Nevertheless, it is generally recognized that a united resistance front is a necessity if the Afghans want to have a greater impact on the international scene. . .

8/31 - NYT - A report from Islamabad says that guerrillas kidnapped 3 or 4 Soviet advisers & killed an undetermined number of government officials in Logar on 8/20.

9/4 - The Pak. Times Overseas Weekly says KARMAL LIKELY TO BE REPLACED:

PESHAWAR: The speculations about removal of Babrak Karmal from the highest post of Russian-backed regime in Afghanistan are said to be immense as several names are taken for his replacement, AIR reports quoting diplomatic sources in Kabul.

Three names were on top of the list of the probables. Prominent among them is said to be Zahir Shah's monarchy era Defence Minister Gen. Khan Mohammad. Two

other names are said Mohammad Gulabzai, head of Khalq faction of ruling party and Gen. Farooq, chief of staff of Zahir Shah monarchy.

Sad Gulabzai is said to have just returned from Moscow after having detailed dialogue with Kremlin and staying there for a few weeks.

It has also been disclosed in Kabul that Babrak Karmal is suffering from cancer which does not allow him to remain the President of the Kabul's puppet regime.--PPI.

9/6 - CSM - Edward Girardet writes that over the past 18 months the Red Army high command has gradually been reinforcing or replacing ordinary soldiers in Afghanistan with more specialized combat contingents. He says that the Soviets appear to be moving toward fully absorbing the northern provinces by incorporating their infrastructure into the adjoining Soviet Muslim Republics. "Informed sources" say that the remaining parts of Afghanistan may eventually be split into 2 separate states: Pushtun, which might be under the control of the Pushtun Khalqi faction, & non-Pushtun, which would be given to the principally Farsi-speaking Parcham. He also writes that the Kremlin has been preparing Soviet public opinion for a long and perhaps costly stay in Afghanistan. Party propaganda compares the Afghan situation with the "basmachi" revolts in Central Asia in the early 20s & 30s. As with the "basmachi" it may take 20 or 30 years to do the job. Some diplomats feel that the Soviets

are using the Geneva talks merely to play for time while they try to subdue Afghanistan - creating only the impression that they want a favorable settlement. "In reality they will not accept a settlement which does not serve their interests."

9/7 - CSM - Mujahideen attacked Soviet troops just south of the Russian border & killed 50-100 of the Soviets who were conducting a house-to-house search for draftable Afghans. The Soviets retaliated with bombing raids causing civilian casualties & destroying crops & livestock.

- NYT - NEW DELHI, Sept. 6 - A simmering feud between two factions in Afghanistan's ruling Communist Party erupted in gunfire last month near the city of Herat and about 100 Afghan Army and police personnel were killed or wounded, a Western diplomat said today.

It was the biggest such clash reported this year between the Parcham (Flag) group, which is led by President Babrak Karmal, and the Khalq (Masses) faction of his rivals.

The incident occurred Aug. 17 near Herat, which is near Afghanistan's northwestern border with Iran.

According to the diplomat, the Parcham group consisted of army troops and officers, while the Khalq members, regarded as more nationalistic, were policemen from the interior Ministry. Further details of the incident were not available.

Killings in 1980 and '81

The intraparty clashes were at a peak in 1980 and 1981, when scores, perhaps hundreds, of Afghan Communists killed each other. The killings slowed last year, although relations between the Khalq and Parcham groups have remained tense.

Defense Minister Abdel Qader, who was among the tank commanders who stormed the presidential palace in April 1979 and helped install the country's first Marxist Government, is viewed as a leader of the Khalq group.

9/13 - NYT - Reuters reports that mujahideen now control the bazaar areas of Matun, Urgun & Jaji in Paktia Province. Guerrillas have cut off the water & food supplies to the garrison at Urgun where more than 12 Soviet advisers & 700 troops reportedly are based. (See p. 21)



HASAN KAKAR ARRESTED

An Amnesty International "Urgent Action" Bulletin of 7/11/83 states:

Professor Hassan Kakar, a distinguished Afghan historian & head of the history department at Kabul University was arrested in April 1982 after attempting to form a human rights group at KU to monitor the arrests of staff & students. Since that date he is reported to have been held in solitary confinement & allowed only one visit from his family. Amnesty Int'l. has learned that he was recently sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment on charges of distributing "anti-state literature."

According to the information received by Amnesty International, it appears that Prof. Kakar has been imprisoned for the peaceful expression of his conscientiously held beliefs. There is no evidence that he was involved in or used violence.

Amnesty Int'l. considers that his imprisonment is contrary to the provisions of the Int'l. Covenant on Civil & Political Rights which has been ratified by Afghanistan. (See #2, 1/24. p.7)

Professor Kakar, aged 46, is married and has 4 children. He is the author of several books on Afghan history.

Amnesty Int'l. recommends that telegrams/ express letters/airmail letters be sent urging that his case be immediately reviewed and that he be released from detention on the grounds that he is a prisoner of conscience. Letters should be sent to President Babrak Karmal, Pres. of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Office of the President, Kabul Afghanistan. (Crystal Leslie writes that the "USA branch of AI has not been directly requested to involve itself in AI's efforts to free Kakar because AI in the USA is considered to be too closely allied to State Dept. policy. However, the AI research office in London...considers that it would be extremely helpful if individuals or groups (of a non-political nature) in the USA... protest directly to President Karmal of Afghanistan... It is suggested that the letter be brief, polite and non-political with stress laid on the humanitarian reasons which motivate your appeal."

"Nearing a Pullout from Afghanistan"
(NYT 6/7)

By Selig S. Harrison

The United Nations mediation effort on Afghanistan has now reached a make-or-break stage. Although the emerging agreement is hardly ideal, it may well offer the best hope for getting Soviet forces out and advancing American interests in Southwest Asia.

After a year of quiet shuttle diplomacy, intensive negotiations in April between Pakistan, Afghanistan and a United Nations Under Secretary General, Diego Cordovez, have resulted in agreement on most provisions of a 20-page "comprehensive settlement." The Soviet Union would be committed to a step-by-step withdrawal of its combat forces and weaponry within a definite time period. Pakistan, in turn, would be required to stop all of its support for the Afghan resistance — including weapons shipments — through its territory.

Several critical issues remain to be settled when negotiations resume June 16, notably the time frame of the withdrawal: Islamabad wants the pullout to be completed within six months, while Moscow is holding out for 18. But much to the Administration's surprise, the United Nations effort is moving tantalizingly close to a successful conclusion. The issue before Washington is no longer whether a settlement is possible but whether the type of settlement envisioned would be acceptable. America, the Soviet Union and China would have to endorse the agreement before it could be implemented.

The most controversial aspect of the scenario is that it does not provide for replacement of the Soviet-installed Babrak Karmal regime. Moscow contends that the regime could survive without support from Soviet forces if "foreign interference" were stopped. This is highly doubtful because Mr. Karmal has become the symbol of the occupation. But the agreement would give Moscow a face-saving opportunity to phase him out while shaping a more effective, decentralized Soviet-oriented regime.

Moscow and Kabul are offering Afghanistan's diverse tribes and ethnic groups even more autonomy than they enjoyed under the monarchy — including exemption from virtually all taxation. What could emerge initially from the United Nations scenario is a political hybrid in which a Sovietized minstate in Kabul and its environs would co-exist uneasily with a largely undisturbed countryside. So long as

the Kabul regime is "friendly," Soviet sources suggest, Moscow does not much care how it governs. A "friendly" government is defined as one that would retain Soviet military advisers and could be relied upon to invite Soviet forces back in the event of a military emergency in Iran or Afghanistan itself.

If the negotiations fail, Moscow is likely to make a greatly intensified military effort to crush the resistance. Thus, America faces a stark choice between supporting the agreement or watching helplessly as the resistance is decimated in future years. Washington no longer has the option of increasing aid to the resistance because Pakistan is not prepared to cooperate. Islamabad fears that escalated fighting would multiply the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and Pakistan's President, Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, recognizes that Moscow could easily destabilize his narrowly based regime. This has led Pakistan to insist upon a mutual noninterference clause that would prohibit Afghan manipulation of Pashtun and Baluch separatism in Pakistan just as it would bar Pakistani support for the Afghan resistance.

Publicly, most Afghan resistance factions denounce the agreement, pledging to fight on until all Soviet influence is eradicated. Privately, however, many non-Communist Afghans accept the Pakistani argument that the first objective should be to get Soviet forces out.

The United States should encourage Pakistan to get the best bargain it can, but it should not stand in the way of a settlement. A Soviet withdrawal would clearly serve American security interests in the Persian Gulf and South Asia. In the event of a future crisis involving the movement of Soviet forces through Afghanistan, Washington would have much more warning time than it does now. The agreement would also help to stabilize South Asia politically by removing the Afghan conflict as a bone of contention between India and Pakistan.

The basic American aim should be to put the onus for any breakdown in the negotiations on Moscow and Kabul. A Soviet withdrawal would represent a heartening victory for international public opinion expressed in successive United Nations resolutions calling for a Soviet pullout. Conversely, Moscow would quickly lose the political benefits it has gained from Soviet embroilment if it appeared to the world that Washington wanted to prolong the bloodshed for its own strategic reasons — "fighting to the last Afghan."

"Doomed Scenario for Soviet Withdrawal"
(NYT 6/12)

To the Editor:

The key result of the agreement on Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan which Selig Harrison's June 7 Op-Ed article claims is being negotiated by U.N. mediators would be legitimization of future Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and possibly Iran as well.

The U.N. mediators acknowledge they have intentionally avoided discussion of internal Afghan governing arrangements in their discussions with Pakistani diplomats and the Babrak Karmal authorities in Kabul. The Afghan resistance forces and the refugees in Pakistan have also been excluded from any involvement.

Any plan for Soviet withdrawal which is contingent on preservation of the Babrak regime in Kabul and on Soviet rights to protect it will fail. The guerrillas will continue their efforts to overthrow that government. And the Soviets have insisted on the rights — which Mr. Harrison urges Pakistan, the U.N., the U.S. and China to accept — to send new forces into Afghanistan, whether the Kabul regime is faced with a crisis or, a totally new element, when there is a crisis in Iran.

The proposed agreement is fundamentally flawed if it reads in any sense in the manner Mr. Harrison describes. Afghan refugees in Pakistan would have to be coerced to return under these terms. Civil war in Afghanistan would be certain. And a resumed Soviet intervention would be sanctioned by the U.N. Why shouldn't Moscow agree to such an arrangement?

The most serious and most fundamental bar to a peaceful settlement is the lack of internal stability and a sense of political direction in Afghanistan. This is what gave the Soviets the chance to intervene originally. It is what would create a new opportunity in the future unless it is addressed from the start.

This the U.N. mediators and the Pakistanis have carefully avoided doing, in the false hope that once the Soviets agree to pull back their forces on any terms, the problem will be basically resolved. The negotiators appear to be moving toward an understanding which will only pave the way for more violence, even if it does, on the surface, appear to commit the Soviets to begin to withdraw.

If the Soviets genuinely wish to get out and do so with some saving of face, they should be able to accept an agreement providing for unconditional withdrawal in the context of a U.N.-guaranteed and U.N.-supervised gathering of a traditional grand tribal Jirga, or assembly.

In that assembly, the Afghans themselves would agree on a new government, on the Soviet withdrawal itself, on friendly relations with all their neighbors, including the Soviet Union.

Continued
on p. 16.

Selig S. Harrison is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This article is adapted from one in Foreign Policy magazine.

"Unlikely Soviet Desire to Quit Afghanistan" (NYT 6/24)

To the Editor:

Twice in the last 11 months ("Rough Plan Emerging for Afghan Peace," July 12, 1982, and "Nearing a Pullout from Afghanistan," June 7, 1983), Selig S. Harrison has written for your Op-Ed page what could be called a "cracked record" message: that the U.S.S.R. is somehow interested in withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan in some kind of step-by-step scheme.

Mr. Harrison's plea is that the U.S. should encourage Pakistan "to get the best bargain it can" and to agree to "a Finland-style solution."

Apart from the historical fact that Moscow has never voluntarily withdrawn its physical support of any Communist regime it initially embraced, there are a number of important facts of life that fly in the face of any professed Soviet willingness to budge from Afghanistan. Here are three:

- Since 1981, the Soviets have quietly annexed the strategic Wakhan corridor, a long, thin east-west panhandle extending to the border of China. The native Pamir tribe of Afghanistan which once lived there has been driven away, and Soviet border troops now face Pakistan's Northwest Frontier province. Would a Soviet pullback mean evacuation of that vital strip of Afghan land and its return to Afghanistan?

- Since the 1950's, thousands of Soviet geologists and engineers have probed and plumbed the extent and location of Afghanistan's enormous and untapped mineral wealth, which includes vast reserves of iron ore, petroleum, natural gas, precious stones, uranium, copper, bauxite and chrome. Already the Soviets are annually pumping more than four billion cubic meters of natural gas from north Afghan wells via a large pipeline directly into the Soviet Union.

- They in effect pay nothing because, "credits" for such natural gas are placed against the huge Afghan "debt" for Soviet delivery of food and equipment. Would the Soviets relinquish their known long-range plans to exploit Afghan mineral treasure?

- The Soviet armed forces in Afghanistan occupy strategic advanced positions on the Persian Gulf and against Iran. The Soviets are known to be feverishly building permanent air and military bastions in Afghanistan, especially the mighty military/air complex at Shindand in western Afghanistan. Would they abandon these?

I fear that Harrison and other experts are led down a garden path. The Soviets are quite willing to talk reasonably to U.N. mediators about withdrawing, in an effort to recoup their tarnished reputation but will withdraw only if their ill-gotten

gains in Afghanistan are somehow guaranteed. Why should Washington agree to be part of that kind of "withdrawal"?

HARRIS GREENE
Arlington, Va., June 9, 1983

"Afghans Will Fight On"

by Sabah Kushkaki (NYT 6/23)

While another round of indirect talks on Afghanistan is drawing to a close in Geneva, prospects for a peaceful settlement of the conflict remain as dim as ever.

United Nations Under Secretary General Diego Cordovez has been pursuing an agreement between Pakistan and the Soviet-installed Government of Afghanistan, but the actual parties to the conflict — the Soviet Union and the Afghan resistance movement — are not included in the process. The United States, China and the Soviet Union must endorse any agreement before it can be implemented. The crux of the problem is to find a way for Moscow to withdraw its troops and for the Afghans to have a government of their own choosing.

The Soviet Union encourages the impression that a negotiated settlement is in the offing. Such an impression tends to neutralize worldwide criticism of its involvement in Afghanistan. The Russians are buying time on the assumption that they can crush the Afghan resistance, which they know now receives very little material and moral support from other countries.

It is indeed very hard to think that the Kremlin seriously contemplates a withdrawal. The Russians are, on the one hand, busy converting the Afghan social and economic structures to serve Moscow's interests, and, on the other, have already turned the country into a military base that poses a direct threat to non-Communist interests in the Persian Gulf region and the Indian Subcontinent. Right now, Moscow is gaining more than it is losing in Afghanistan. Neither the political nor the military costs of its adventure there are high enough to induce it to pull out.

The Soviet Union has let it be known that it would be willing to withdraw its troops if Pakistan and Iran pledged to stop all support for the resistance and if Afghanistan remained in the hands of a "friendly" government, which is defined as one that would retain Soviet military advisers and could be depended upon to "invite" Soviet forces to return in the event of a military emergency in Afghanistan or in Iran.

Such an agreement would simply restore the very conditions that led to the invasion in December 1979 under the terms of the 1978 Soviet-Afghan friendship treaty — with the additional dangerous proviso that events in Iran could provide a pretext for inviting Soviet troops to return.

It would be tragic to conclude such an agreement under the auspices of a world organization committed to the right of people to independence and self-determination. The Afghan resistance will have nothing to do with such an accord.

The publicly stated position of Pakistan, reiterated on many occasions by President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, insists on both a Soviet withdrawal and the right of Afghans to choose their own form of government, paving the way for an honorable return of millions of Afghan refugees now in Pakistan and Iran. The Pakistanis would also like to see Afghanistan become a nonaligned country once again.

Officials in a number of quarters are afraid that if an agreement is not reached under Soviet terms, the Soviet Union will pour in more troops and annihilate the resistance. When the Soviet Army invaded three years ago, most people assumed that Moscow would prevail in a few months. They underestimated both the will and determination of people fighting for a just cause.

The people of Afghanistan want to see their country free from all forms of foreign intervention, to live in harmony with their neighbors and to choose their own form of government. They also want to establish an Islamic way of life for Afghans — not through force or coercion but by peaceful means.

If the Afghans do not get these terms, they will continue to fight for them. They are not going to sell themselves cheap. The Afghans are fighting this war not only for themselves but also for the cause of freedom and justice around the world.

Communism, as seen in practice, is based on oppression and expansion, and is detrimental to the legitimate rights of people and nations. The Afghans are determined to root it out in their own country. If a nation is annihilated in fighting for such a cause, who is the loser? With this mentality, Afghan freedom-fighters are shedding their blood.

Since World War II, Communism has dictated its will upon the world. Gaining a Soviet withdrawal from Moscow's terms would not represent a victory for international public opinion but, rather, another concession, a failure of Western will — this time in a strategically situated country whose people are committed to dying for a cause belonging to all justice-loving people.

Sabah Kushkaki, a former journalist and Minister of Information and Culture in Afghanistan, for most of 1978 and 1979 was imprisoned by the regimes of Noor Mohammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin. He is now a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center.

"An Afghan Settlement Process Underway"
(NYT - 7/3)

To the Editor:

Sabah Kushkaki is wrong when he writes that there can be no political settlement of the conflict in Afghanistan (Op-Ed June 22). While negotiations between Pakistan and Afghanistan might not be showing immediate results, a different kind of political settlement process is already under way inside Afghanistan.

The Government is negotiating with tribal leaders and with military commanders of the rebel organizations inside the country. Two weeks in Afghanistan (May 15 to 30) convinced me that these negotiations have made considerable progress.

According to Government figures, in recent months more than 200 rebel military commanders have defected from their Pakistani-based leadership and come over to the Government side, bringing with them some 20,000 armed men.

I was not able, of course, to verify these figures. But the trend does exist — many rebel commanders inside Afghanistan have lost faith in their "leaders" in Pakistan.

I had the opportunity to interview one of these former commanders, a young man named Malang who had been a member of the "Islamic Party" of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, probably the strongest rebel military organization. Malang had commanded some 250 men in Kabul province. On his trips to Pakistan to pick

up arms and receive training (from Americans and Egyptians, he says) he got to know the political leadership of the "Islamic Party." In his view, they are primarily interested in personal profits and not in any "Islamic war."

Meanwhile, popular support for Malang's detachment had declined in Kabul province, and he decided to open talks with the Government. Today Malang is a first lieutenant in the Afghan Army.

There are a number of further factual errors in Kushkaki's commentary. I will limit myself to just one more: his claim that the rebels are fighting for an "Islamic government." If so, it is a strange variety of Islam.

Take the so-called Islamic Party. Its leader, convicted of a political murder before he managed to leave Afghanistan in 1973, led a Pakistani-financed unit of 5,000 men into Afghanistan in 1975 to stir up trouble for the Government there, which was engaged in a border conflict with Pakistan. In 1978, he started his present campaign. His program consists of opposing land reform, the Afghan Government's literacy campaign and laws guaranteeing equal rights for men and women. A freedom fighter?

KONRAD EGE

Washington, June 23, 1983
The writer is a European freelance journalist.

General Zia's Views: In an interview with Rodney Tasker of the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW in May.
(FEER - 6/9)

The Afghanistan crisis is probably the most topical subject in Pakistan today, with the continuing Geneva talks. I see that your foreign minister has been rather positive in his statements about the progress made at the talks. You yourself have made similar statements. Are you really hopeful that now, with the talks set to resume on June 16, there is a serious chance of a breakthrough?

It's a long story. Why did the Soviet Union come into Afghanistan in the first place? Did they come here to stay? Did they come here to go back? Did they come here to fill the vacuum? Did they come here to have a strategic advantage over Iran and Pakistan? Did they come to be that much closer to the warm waters [of the Arabian Sea]? What was their aim? Or did they come to safeguard the soft underbelly of the Soviet Union — to put a dam on the onslaught of what they thought was the Islamic revolution, with floods coming from the Pakistan side or from the Iran side?

But look at the infrastructure they have built up: massive construction, new roads, railways, new bridges over the Oxus river, highways coming all the way from the Soviet Union to Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, new storehouses, barracks for the troops. They have moved another division into Herat. So when you compare all this, then you ask what on earth is this exercise going on? But there not only my pessimism but my personal impressions come in also, and so do my foreign minister's.

We had a very good, intimate discussion with [Soviet leader Yuri] Andropov just the day he took over [after Leonid Brezhnev's funeral in Moscow last year]. My impression of him was that I think he meant what he said. There are indications that perhaps Russia does want to withdraw [its troops]. And it is this impression which is now taking the shape of concrete dialogue and discussions. We had Geneva I, Geneva II, now Geneva III is coming on June 16, and the modalities that are being worked out, the principles that are being followed, are exactly in line with the United Nations resolutions on the subject.

The very positive approach which the Soviet Union has adopted towards these talks, the direction, the moral support, the back-up which they are giving to the Afghan representative, all that indicates that the Soviet Union means business. Perhaps they are keen to withdraw. Perhaps they want to have a let-up, if not on Poland or Southeast Asia, or Angola or anywhere else, at least on Afghanistan if the conditions are right. And with all that, I feel we could perhaps take the risk of believing what they say. And they say that they want to withdraw... why not? We are just trying: it's doing us no harm.

The Soviets are insisting, as a condition for their withdrawal, that Pakistan stop its alleged interference and intervention in Afghanistan, along with other countries including the United States and China. This is similar to the situation in Cambodia, where the Vietnamese say they will not withdraw until the Chinese threat disappears. This seems to be a way of prolonging the negotiating process, by putting the ball in your court.

Yes, but the spirit of the Geneva talks [comprises] those four United Nations principles [calling for a withdrawal of foreign troops, the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees, a return to Kabul's non-aligned status and a popular government]. Now within these four principles, [UN special envoy] Diego Cordovez has worked out his framework. The framework also starts with the withdrawal of troops, guarantees of non-intervention, non-interference, the return of the refugees... the whole thing starts off so long as the Soviet Union withdraws. After the withdrawal, what begins, according to the current negotiations, is what should be the guarantees of non-interference and non-intervention. Russia feels Pakistan is interfering; we are saying that while your intervention is visible, you are just speculating about Pakistan's interference. Yes, we are guilty, if that is so, of harbouring refugees. But it is not right — and we have told the Russians — to put the blame on Pakistan for the past.

You should look at the pattern of insurgency in Afghanistan. It is not on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. It is inside. So we are now in the middle. And if we agree that there is an intervention and there is interference, it is just not enough: supposing the Russians withdraw, and they still say the Pakistanis are interfering. It doesn't take the Soviet Union more than two days to come back. That won't be right for us, because by that time the refugees will not have gone back. So we are now also looking [for] guarantors to this agreement. We are looking to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. [Foreign Minister] Yaqub Khan is visiting various places [China, the US, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia] in order to brief them, and since we have taken the Afghanistan problem as not a regional problem but a global problem, we feel that we must keep those who are interested in helping us... in the picture, and take them along with us in this way.

Zid's silver lining

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has helped the president to establish an impressive image and power-base

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW • AUGUST 4, 1980

By Derek Davies and Hikaru Kuros

Apart from the Soviet charge of outside interference in Afghanistan, what conditions do you think Moscow would find acceptable to allow a withdrawal? If the refugees go back, and if there are elections or some other process to form a new government in Kabul, it seems doubtful that it would result in a Marxist government. One assumes the Soviets would find such a situation unacceptable. So would you not say there appears to be a stalemate here?

There is a simple formula to it — too simple to believe. First, I think [the Soviets] would want — and I think they can claim — a friendly Afghanistan; they can't afford to have a hostile Afghanistan. Secondly, if they want a friendly Afghanistan, then naturally the government in power should be tolerable. I don't think they would be willing to accept an extreme rightist government in Afghanistan. On the other hand, they know that any extremist leftist government will not be acceptable to the people of Afghanistan. So they have got to find a compromise, and the compromise is simple.

Basically, it is not up to Pakistan to suggest, because we say it is the problem of the people of Afghanistan. They have a very good system, a system of Loi Jirga — the Grand Assembly. And whenever they had a problem, or whenever they wanted to have a mandate, the government assembled the Loi Jirga and put the thing across to them. And there was not any difficulty for the people of Afghanistan to be allowed to come into the assembly for, and then find out a consensus and act accordingly. I think the whole thing can be worked out fairly smoothly, if there is a political will on the part of the Soviet Union to allow a political process to develop in accordance with the traditions of Afghanistan.

Since Zia was last interviewed by the Review (June 9), fresh negotiations on Afghanistan have taken place in Geneva. Those contacts do not appear to have altered Zia's realistic appreciation of the difficulties of persuading the Soviets to withdraw, and his view of a sober optimism that progress can be made. "The Russians are in Afghanistan. We cannot turn them out. The Russians are trying to subjugate Afghanistan. The Afghans are resisting — fortunately for us, otherwise we would be in the soup by now."

"The responsibility for all of this lies with the Soviet Union. As a superpower, the Soviet Union cannot be obliged to move. If the Russians had wanted to ignore world opinion, they could have done so. Whether it is world opinion — the resolutions of the Islamic Conference and by the non-aligned nations, plus the 117 votes in the UN — or whether it is the will of the people of Afghanistan, Yurt Andropov on the part of Soviet President Yuri Andropov to admit that he is in difficulties, I don't know."

"But we found that the Afghans [the Babrak Karmal regime] were willing to engage in indirect talks, which they could not do without the tacit approval of the Soviet Union. We know full well that the Soviet Union is not going to leave Afghanistan in a hurry and that, if and when they do quit, they will leave behind them such infrastructure as will allow them to return very swiftly. Yet I think the problem has been diffused to some extent. The talks represent a very positive step."

"By our choice, we are talking with Afghanistan indirectly [via a UN intermediary]. Moscow wanted us to talk directly and we said no. Results are being achieved. We have been able to make the Soviets agree to give a timetable for withdrawal. The point at issue now is Moscow's contention that it should not give a timetable to anyone but the Afghans; that

it is a matter between themselves and Kabul. But they have agreed to a timetable and, what is more, to a brief timetable not a lengthy one. But I don't see the end of the tunnel. While I am optimistic about the progress of the talks I am not so optimistic about the situation generally."

Did not reports that Andropov and the KGB were originally against the invasion and that Andropov's rise to power had strengthened the faction in the Kremlin in favour of withdrawal smack of Soviet propaganda, designed to weaken Afghan resistance and those who supported it? Zia thinks not. "I am still very confident that Andropov was against this," he said, "not only from what I have read, but after my meeting with Mr Andropov at the funeral of [late president] Leonid Brezhnev. He was under no obligation to see me. There were 114 heads of state. He saw only the US vice-president [George Bush]. Mrs Indira Gandhi of India and Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan. So there must have been something in his mind."

"I feel that he must have advised against [the invasion]. So I still hope for a fresh approach. Even if Andropov wants withdrawal, it could be that his failing health, pressures from the coterie of Brezhnevites around him and other factors will force him to maintain Soviet policy unchanged. But we are expecting the annual visit of one of the Soviet deputy foreign ministers in August or September routinely to discuss the forthcoming Commonwealth Assembly. We are hoping to persuade him to talk about Afghanistan as well."

As for the 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, "there are two problems. First: there are the social and economic strains resulting from their presence; secondly, the need to respond to their political aspirations. The presence of such a large body of refugees does create social problems."

Credit goes both to the local population and to the refugees themselves. Fortunately, they are largely from the same ethnic groups as in Pakistan — from tribes who once lived on both sides of the border. And the spirit with which the Pakistani locals reacted was highly commendable. Then we received a very quick and generous response from fellow Muslim countries and the international organisations which enabled us to bear this burden. Mind you, out of the [total] cost — about US\$450 million a year — half of the amount comes from Pakistan's own exchequer. But we are bearing this ungrudgingly and will continue to do so."

As for their [the refugees'] political aspirations and worries they may have that a settlement may be reached without consulting them. Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan in Geneva insisted that Diego Cordovez [the UN intermediary, who is the personal representative of UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar] should himself consult with the Afghan refugees on Paktia [page 25]. While these views on direct negotiations are going on among ourselves, the UN representative, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, with Iran being kept in the picture, it is vital that the refugees must be consulted about any eventual political solution."

United Nations officials ponder the diplomatic pitfalls surrounding people displaced from Afghanistan

By Ted Morello

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW • AUGUST 4, 1980

New York: The United Nations has opened delicate intramural negotiations aimed at drafting a stand-by mechanism for coping with the eventual return from Pakistan of 3 million refugees uprooted from Afghanistan by the Soviet military occupation.

The principal officials involved are UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Poul Hartling and Diego Cordovez, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's special Afghanisthan representative. The two, who have just concluded a round of talks in Geneva, are the most senior officials handling respectively the day-to-day humanitarian and political phases of the UN's involvement in the Afghanisthan conflict.

The Hartling-Cordovez talks focused on how to make progress on the refugee aspect of the four-point draft settlement on Afghanistan. Talks that Cordovez has conducted separately with representatives of Pakistan and Afghanistan achieved

varying degrees of agreement on the three other points in the draft: the necessity of Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, non-interference in the country's domestic affairs and guarantees that the non-interference provision will be observed.

In his most recent summing up of the state of the negotiations, Perez de Cuellar said at a UN Correspondents Association lunch that "90% of this [four-point] draft has been already agreed upon." However, he added that the UN is still looking for a formula to get the refugees "in some way present in this exercise." Both Moscow and Kabul have been adamant in refusing to agree to any contact between Cordovez and the refugees.

UN officials report that the Cordovez-Hartling talks concentrated on considering strategies for involving the UNHCR more actively in sounding out the refugees without Hartling too obviously crossing the line into the political arena and risking

the censure of Moscow and Kabul. Hartling himself has always steered away from any actions that might be construed as political. It was considered certain that the furthest he was prepared to go in Geneva was to tell Cordovez that he would cooperate in whatever solution eventually emerged among the parties concerned, provided that the action was clearly within his agency's guidelines. In addition, it was reported that he insisted on guaranteeing the voluntary nature of any repatriation.

The next step is to determine how to find out the refugees' wishes about repatriation. Ideally, the refugees themselves would be able to agree on a single spokesman. But such agreement is considered impossible to achieve. Equally impractical is the suggestion that the UNHCR poll the refugees individually. That practice has been followed in the past, for example with 55,000 refugees from Chad and 200,000 from Zimbabwe who returned to their homelands from neighbouring countries after fleeing to escape armed conflict. But the numbers were tiny compared with the monumental challenge of the 3 million displaced Afghans in Pakistan.

A more likely formula calls for UNHCR consultation with the leaders of

Continued on p. 23

THE main victims of the guerrilla warfare against the Soviet-backed Kabul government are Afghan civilians. Thousands of villages have been destroyed by air raids and reprisal bombardments and they have suffered many dead and wounded in the past four years.

Close on four million Afghan refugees have fled across the borders to Pakistan and Iran since 1979 — one in four of the country's total population. It is the world's largest refugee problem. No one knows if, or when, they will return.

For the remaining 12 million Afghans still inside Afghanistan life is harder and more dangerous. Many rural areas, especially those close to the cities or the strategic highways, have suffered so badly from air raids that villagers have left for the relative safety of the cities under the Kabul government's control.

Kabul's population has risen from 700,000 in 1978 in peacetime to reach an estimated 1.5 million in 1983. Food is short and much has to be imported from abroad.

House rents have risen sharply, with entire families living in one small room of slum houses in the poorer sections. The city is said to be bursting at the seams. Since the autumn of 1982 camps of refugees from the villages have sprung up on the outskirts.

In some regions hunger has made people leave their villages. Even where crops and livestock have not been destroyed in military operations aimed at crushing the Afghan resistance, there is a general shortage of able-bodied men to work on the farms in the valleys.

Inside the country — considerably larger than France or Kenya at 250,000 square miles in area — conditions differ in the various regions, which are separated by mountain ranges or deserts. In a few remote regions, the war seems distant as far as recent experience of fighting or air raids is concerned.

Deep in the Hindu Kush mountain ranges of central Afghanistan, in the large region of Hazarajat, signs of war are obvious only on the border. There the inhabitants have organised themselves into militia forces cooperating with the resistance on other war-fronts.

Far from losing its population like many regions, Hazarajat has gained some with younger men fleeing Kabul to avoid compulsory military service.

As in other regions, malnutrition has become more serious with the war affecting women and children in particular. All food has risen in price in the last four years by two or three times, without any corresponding rise in incomes for the poor.

—by Anthony Hyman—

With the resumption in Geneva of UN-sponsored talks towards an Afghan peace settlement, world attention has once again turned to this war-torn country. Gemini News Service reports on an often neglected aspect of the war: how ordinary Afghans are coping with changed living conditions.

The scarcity of wheat, vegetables, milk, meat, eggs and other items has helped spread diseases of malnutrition in many regions. TB is the most common. Many people become ill because they have to take refuge in mountain caves, living there without warm clothing through the cold weather.

Where the fighting or air raids have been intense, people have died of simple wounds because of the almost total absence of medical facilities in the rural areas. Not a single government clinic established in the sixties in the larger villages of Afghanistan survived the general war destruction and the ending of the Kabul government's control at least 80 per cent of rural areas.

Humanitarian organisations have made determined efforts since 1980 to reintroduce a minimal programme of

basic health into rural areas. Afghan doctors and nurses, as well as French, Belgian and Swiss professionals have brought medicine in from Pakistan and set up scores of clinics inside Afghanistan.

Often when they have moved from the area after some months they have left behind basic knowledge of first aid techniques and hygiene, besides a medicine chest.

Authentic details of conditions in remote rural areas have come through the efforts of two remarkable humanitarian organisations, both based in France — *Medecins sans Frontieres* (Doctors without Frontiers) and *Aide Medicale Internationale* (International Medical Aid).

They have a wide experience of the needs of civilian populations in wartime, from their valuable medical work in El Salvador, Chad and other flashpoints.

Teams of their doctors and nurses have worked with many Afghan rural communities since 1980. In the Panjsher valley, north of Kabul, where fierce fighting took place until this spring for control of the valley and the highway to the northern borders with the USSR, their clinics saved many seriously wounded people, including victims of fragmentation bombs.

In the Panjsher valley and other places subjected to frequent air raids they noted growing symptoms of stress, including serious psychological effects, among civilians.

Even the distant noise of airplanes and helicopter gunships in the sky caused attacks of dizziness or palpitation among the population.

In southeastern Afghanistan, in Kunar province close to the border with Pakistan, the drain of people to refugee camps and the general destruction of farms and livestock has made food even scarcer than in other parts.

Malnutrition is reported more in evidence, with

women suffering from general weakness, anaemia or TB, and children developing spindly limbs and swollen bodies.

The prospect of widespread hunger leading to famine inside Afghanistan is being seriously studied by relief agencies, agronomists and food specialists based in Pakistan and elsewhere.

If conditions worsen while the war continues there is little or no prospect of substantial food aid reaching remote rural areas from outside the country.

The airspace is controlled by Soviet and Afghan planes, ruling out any attempts at airdrops of food from outside, while the Kabul government so far has restricted food distribution to the cities which it controls rather than areas of the country hostile to its rule.

Some shrewd observers are already speculating that the question of food supplies for the Afghan population will in the long run determine the outcome of the guerrilla war going on since 1979.

They argue that even if the Afghan resistance forces have weapons to fight with and high morale against superior military forces, they may well be ground down by inability to get enough food. — Gemini

Continued from p. 12

and on a crucial amnesty for all groups in the terrible conflict of the last four years.

Those who hope for peace in Afghanistan, for stability in South Asia and for the permanent withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan can have no satisfaction in the kind of settlement Mr. Harrison describes. The best that can be said for it is that the prospects for its implementation are extremely slim.

PAUL H. KREISBERG

New York, June 7, 1983

The writer is director of studies at the Council on Foreign Relations.

In Pakistan, an Afghan Peephole

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

Special to The New York Times

PESHAWAR, Pakistan — For centuries, travelers on their way to India from Afghanistan, Persia and points beyond have stopped in this rough-cut frontier outpost lying astride ancient routes of trade and conquest that snake through the Khyber Pass, 25 miles west of here on the Afghan border. And for centuries they have gravitated to the street of the storytellers in the Old City's main bazaar to swap tales, both true and fanciful, about faraway places and events.

Today Peshawar has become a different sort of information exchange. The traders and travelers still come from beyond the Khyber Pass, but these days they are overwhelmingly outnumbered by another group of tale-tellers, the thousands of Afghan refugees, defectors, exiles, rebel political leaders and guerrilla commanders who have flooded across the border and into town in the three and a half years since Soviet troops entered Afghanistan.

These refugees have made this city the richest and most reliable single source of information for the Western world about what is going on inside Afghanistan.

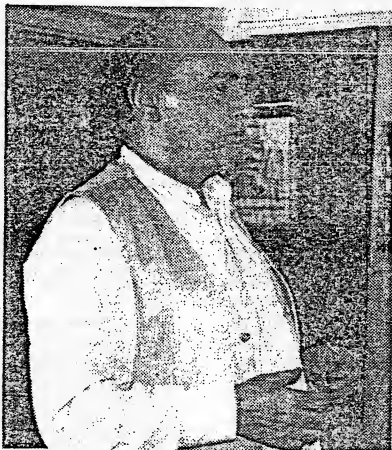
Country Off Limits

Since shortly after the Soviet intervention in December 1979, the Soviet Army and the Afghan Government have declared the country off limits to Western reporters. By denying reporters entry on pain of possible arrest, the Russians and the Afghan rulers have thrown a blanket over the struggle between themselves and the insurgent Moslem guerrillas who appear to have fought them to a standstill.

Despite this, an enormous amount of information makes its way out of Afghanistan — "More than we can handle," said Dr. Sayd Majrooh, an Afghan exile who founded and directs the Afghan Information Center here. The center is widely regarded as the most authoritative and reliable clearinghouse for such information.

Peshawar is where the Western journalists who most closely and regularly follow the Afghan war come to collect facts and cross-check reports that they get from various sources, including Western diplomats. It is also the primary jumping-off place for a handful of Western journalists who occasionally go into Afghanistan with rebel troops for first-hand, through usually circumscribed and limited, looks at the country. And it is the base for Dr. Majrooh's clearinghouse, which is frequently the first stop for reporters.

Dr. Majrooh, a former professor of philosophy at Kabul University, runs a nonprofit operation in a pleasantly airy suburban house on the west side of Peshawar, within sight of the Khyber Pass. Assigning a small staff of reporters to interview insurgent military commanders and other sources about the progress of the war, he publishes



The New York Times / E. Joan Stevens

Dr. Sayd Majrooh, above, director of the Afghan Information Center in Peshawar

their reports in a monthly bulletin that goes to about 300 subscribers, including all the largest Western newspapers and news agencies.

"We get some exaggerations and some contradictions," Dr. Majrooh said. If these are not resolved, he said, the information is excluded from the bulletin.

The content and tone of the bulletin are typified by the opening paragraph of the summary of the May issue: "The month of May has seen some of the most devastating bombardment by the Soviets since their occupation of Afghanistan. The main victims have, as ever, been the civilians. In the two-week bombardment of the city of Herat, 3,000 civilian casualties were reported. In the Shomal region, north of Kabul, unprecedented bombing razed many villages, killing hundreds and driving large sections of the civilians to flood into Kabul to take refuge."

Several Sources of Information

Several factions among the Afghan guerrillas, many of whose political bases are in or around Peshawar, give information to the Majrooh center, and some put out their own newsletters. Western correspondents tap these sources directly as well, and some have built longstanding relationships with several different guerrilla leaders.

Most reporters who regularly follow the war are based in Islamabad, Pakistan's capital. These include reporters for Reuters and The Associated Press. Representative, perhaps, of the way in which they operate is the work of Ian Hoare, the Islamabad correspondent of the BBC.

Mr. Hoare said he constructed his dispatches out of information from the Soviet-controlled Kabul radio, from sources in the guerrilla resistance groups, from Dr. Majrooh's clearinghouse and from diplomatic sources. Embassies, both Western and third world, remain open in Kabul, and reports from them are sent to missions in other cities, where correspondents in some cases are briefed periodically.

Mr. Hoare said he found that the best and often the most timely reports come "when someone rings you from the border and tells you that this place or that has fallen."

The big problem, Mr. Hoare said, "is that every source has an ax to grind" and so cross-checking is all the more necessary. What this means, he said, is that Islamabad-based reporters must "travel to Peshawar fairly regularly to catch people coming out" of Afghanistan and interview them first-hand.

Some journalists say they believe that even Islamabad is too far away to serve as a base for day-to-day coverage. Romy Fullerton, a British reporter in Peshawar representing The Daily Telegraph, the Far Eastern Economic Review, Independent Television News of Britain and the Voice of America, said Peshawar was the base "if you really want to keep your finger on the pulse."

Even at best, Mrs. Fullerton said, the

news from Afghanistan usually lags well behind events "because of the sheer length of time it takes for reports to come out." A lag of four or five days is relatively short, she said. News of events that take place in parts of Afghanistan far from the Pakistani border, she said, can take as long as three weeks to come to light.

Those who report the news sometimes make trade-offs between timeliness and accuracy. For example, some journalists say, Dr. Majrooh's reports are as reliable as they are partly because his publication is issued monthly, and thus he has time to discover and discard suspect information. Faster reports, the journalists say, sometimes tend to be less reliable.

A major problem for reporters early in the war was that the Afghan guerrillas' accounts were found on inspection to contain considerable amounts of exaggeration and wishful thinking. The reason for this, Mrs. Fullerton said, was that the purpose of their accounts was less to inform than to promote enthusiasm and morale among the guerrillas. This "singing the song of the jihad," she said, is part of the long tradition of Afghan balladeers.

"It used to infuriate the Western journalists," she said, "but within the first year this had changed." Now, she said, the insurgents have learned that if they are to be believed, they have to be "jolly boring and Western about the whole thing." Exaggerations still crop up occasionally, she said, "but you can spot a mile off."

NYT 6/29

KABUL CLAIMS PROPAGANDA SUCCESS OVER GUERRILLAS South China Morning Post

HOSPITAL CASUALTIES: The hospitals in Afghanistan are being manned by inexperienced doctors from Russia, which has resulted in the increase of casualties in these hospitals.

This was disclosed by two doctors of Jamhoori Hospital of Kabul, who have abandoned their duties and have crossed over to Pakistan. In an interview here they said that soon after passing their classes in the medical colleges in Russia the house job students are entrusted the responsibilities of full fledged doctors in the hospitals in Afghanistan. Most of the patients either die or lose their parts of the body which is affected, due to the inexperience of these doctors. They also disclosed that acute shortage of medicines has hit the hospitals and the patients are compelled to buy medicines on high prices from the market.

However, the patients belonging to Khalq and Parcham factions of the party are provided with free medicines in the hospitals, besides other facilities. Those injured in the clashes with Mujahideen are admitted to military hospital known as 40th bedded hospital. There are always more than 2,000 patients in this hospital which remains so overcrowded that the beds are placed in its compound.

CONSCRIPTION: They said that only old women and children attend the civil hospitals, because the young people avoid to attend these hospitals, due to scare of forced recruitment in the army.

It is said in Kabul that the tenure of compulsory military service which has recently been raised to three years, is being further raised to five years. They said that during the last five years, about 40 doctors have fled away from the Jamhoori Hospital. There are in all 50 doctors in this hospital out of whom four belong to Communist party. The Russians give incentive to the doctors for sending them to Russia for higher education, but the Afghan doctors do not accept their offer.

Most of the students leave their studies in Russia and when they come to Afghanistan during vacations, they avoid to go back, because they

say that the Afghans are mal treated in Russia. The Russians treatment is because of the casualties of their relatives in Afghanistan. They said that only Khalqis and Parchamis accept the scholarships in Russia for the simple reason that they escape from taking part in the war. These doctors said that the law and order situation in the city of Kabul was not normal and no one feels secure.

In the afternoon, no one except members of Khalq could come out on the roads. The Khalqis and Parchamis also cannot come out of their houses after 5 p.m. due to scare of Mujahideen. There is always danger of attack by the Mujahideen at day time at the bazzars, roads and offices. Because of this danger, the Kabul regime and Russians search people on all the roundabouts and check their documents. Even the employees are checked before entering their offices.

One of the two doctors said that his house was searched three times by the members of Khalq during one month. The Russian soldiers patrol in the tanks and armed vehicles in the city of Kabul and their number has increased considerably. Only old people women and children are seen in city, because they have either fled away or have escaped due to the scare of forceable recruitment in the army. — APP.

New propaganda plays are being used by the Afghanistan Government to split the already deeply divided resistance movement.

Over the last month Kabul has claimed success in persuading many leaders of the "bandits," as the guerrillas are labelled, to stop fighting and to join the National Fatherland Front set up in 1980, soon after the Soviet invasion.

Kabul Radio has been concentrating on a well-established opposition party, Afghan Mellat (Social Democratic Party of Afghanistan), claiming the party has been dissolved by its leaders, and appealing to its thousands of members and sympathisers to join forces with the National Fatherland Front.

In fact only five members of Afghan Mellat's central committee — released this year after four years in prison — claim to have "dissolved" the party. Members in exile strongly deny that Afghan Mellat has ceased to exist.

The party dates back to 1966 and has a following among educated Pashtuns in

the Army, police and civil service.

It claims to work for a democratic Afghanistan and is the only Afghan party affiliated to the Socialist International.

The country's present leader, Mr Babrak Karmal, had close contacts with the party. He attended the annual celebrations of Pashtunistan Day in Kabul alongside Afghan Mellat members.

The party has always voiced extremist nationalist views, laying claim to Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province and insisting that Baluchistan should be independent of Pakistan and become a separate state of Pashtunistan.

Some Afghan nationalists undoubtedly believe the present instability in the region could help achieve their long-standing goal through the disintegration of Pakistan.

The Karmal Government is using all means at its disposal to try to persuade the opposition that its future lies with the revolution.

Its offer of a general amnesty has been taken up by a number of guerrillas since the beginning of the year, and letters exchanged with two resistance leaders have come into the open.

Warsaw Pact countries are giving technical help to improve the efficiency of the media — East German radio specialists are running courses in Kabul for "progressive radio journalism" and similar courses for press and TV journalists have been started.

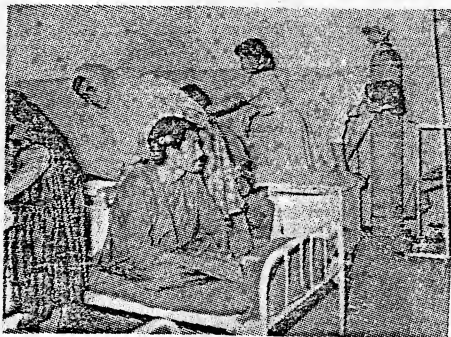
New magazines have been launched this year for students, trade unionists, farmers, women and other groups to win support for the National Fatherland Front.

East Germany has also supplied new printing presses and equipment for expansion of radio and TV services.

Czech and Bulgarians, Russians and Germans are working to strengthen the weak trade union movement, which at present claims 160,000 members.

The aim is rapid expansion of membership so that the movement can be used as a prop for the Kabul Government.

Reported by George Hardy in Islamabad 5/24



Activists of WDOA, taking part in voluntary work at the Kabul hospital.

KNT 7/30

(Photo: Bakhtar)

LONDON, June 23: Afghanistan's former deposed King Zahir Shah, currently living in exile in Rome, has stressed the need for a united organisation which could represent Afghan people in talks with the Soviet Union BBC reported.

He said this in an interview with French newspaper "Le Monde" Zahir Shah broke his prolonged silence to as he put it, give a psychological shock so that the Afghan resistance movement could get united.

Afghanistan's former monarch said that he wanted that a representative and united front should be established whose sole aim it should be to free the motherland. The front should be able to effectively co-ordinate the activities of the Mujahideen and represent Afghan people in international conferences.

Zahir Shah made it clear that the most important task before this united front would be to hold negotiations with the Soviets over the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

He said a political solution of this problem should be found out.

Zahir Shah said that some times one heard rumours that it was likely that the Soviet Union would be willing to talk to the representatives of the Afghan Mujahideen. If the Soviets really wanted this then the establishment of a united organisation to represent Afghan people was very necessary, he said. A representative nominated by the people would have the right to take part in the negotiations and conclude the agreements he added.

Zahir Shah said there were some issues on which there would be no compromise. These included the withdrawal of Soviet troops, respect for Afghanistan's territorial integrity non-intervention and revival of Afghanistan's spiritual and national values.

He stressed that Afghanistan would not be allowed to become a base for activities against the Soviet Union.

As far as Kabul's present regime was concerned Zahir Shah strongly condemned it. He said "It is guilty of mass sacrifice". This government would

certainly get eliminated, he said and added that the Soviet Union, which in violation of all internationally recognised principles had made Afghanistan victim of its aggression had destroyed the country and had rendered lakhs of people refugees. However Zahir Shah was ambiguous on the question of a new Government in Afghanistan. He only said this would be decided by the masses. He said that any talks on Afghanistan should include representatives of Afghan Mujahideen and the Soviet Union who should hold direct negotiations.

Zahir Shah disclosed that he had sent a private message to Pakistan's President explaining his stand. In the final part of interview Zahir Shah criticised Western countries. He said that they did not fully assist the Afghan resistance movement. He said this was not a regional issue but it had international repercussions.—PPI.

And on 8/27 the Pakistan Times reports (with the headline SOVIETS PLAN TO REMOVE KARMAL):

LONDON, Aug. 26: Soviets are contemplating to establish a new government in Afghanistan under the leadership of Gen. Khan Mohammad, a former Defence Minister of Zahir Shah's regime.

The Soviets are trying to win over ex-King Zahir Shah and the favour of the three party alliance composed of the groups of Syed Ahmad Gillani, Mr. Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi and Mr. Sibghatullah Mujaddadi to achieve the objective.

According to details received here from reliable sources, it was learnt that the Soviet Union had sent a military delegation, led by a Soviet Commander to Afghanistan who will assess the possibilities of implementation of the plan.

The reliable sources disclosed that Syed Ahmed Gillani was deputed to negotiate with the ex-King Zahir Shah to form a three-party alliance. Syed Ahmed Gillani met Mr. Abdul Wali, the son-in-law of

FUND FOR FAMILIES OF AFGHAN PRISONERS (F.F.A.P.)

A fund started by Crystal Leslie to aid the family of Hasan Kakar (see p. 11) and of other Afghans who have been imprisoned by the Afghan government. This is not a permanent fund and the plan is to close it down in 6 months. Friends of Hasan Kakar and others who would like to contribute can make checks payable to the Fund for Families of Afghan Prisoners, c/o Crystal Leslie, 202 Lakeview Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. Or call Crystal for more information at 617-547-5991.

FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN AFGHAN ACTION

This organization was founded in May by Andrew Eiva (see Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 19). Sayed Houssein Shah is the president, Neal Blair the chairman and Andrew Eiva the Executive Director. Shah is a "first generation Afghan-American and self-made oil entrepreneur from New York City. Concern about the genocide of Afghanistan led him to sell off much of his Shah Oil Company to fight for the survival of the country of his father." Further information on the organization can be had by writing Federation for American Afghan Action, 236 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Suite 603, Washington, D.C. 20002, or calling 202-547-2122.

continued on p. 23

former King Zahir Shah as a result of which the three leaders are holding secret talks with ex-King Zahir Shah for establishing their office in Peshawar, Quetta or Paktia.

SECRET MEETING: Earlier, on July 19 in a secret meeting the three parties have considered to form their alliance under the leadership of ex-King Zahir Shah consequently a 40-member delegation, including three leaders, Mr. Mohammad Shah Fazali, political assistant to Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, Mr. Aziz Ullah Wasti, ex-Minister of Sardar Daud regime, Mr. Taryalay Usman, Mr. Ishaque Usman and Dr. Raheem proceeded to Rome for holding negotiations with ex-King Zahir Shah and are still present there.

The sources said that the Soviet Union was anxious to win over ex-King Zahir Shah so that he could lead the Afghan refugees. But they actually want him to recognise Gen. Khan Mohammad of Qandahar as ruler of Afghanistan, because Khan Mohammad Qandhari is famous as a weak communist. Gen. Khan Mohammad is presently a member of the National Fatherland Front.

The Soviet Union has given an understanding to ex-King Zahir Shah that he should hold the leadership of Afghan refugees and accept the proposed government of Mr. Mohammad Khan who shall take over in place of Mr. Babrak Karmal and later a "united government will be formed in Afghanistan.—APP.

Items from the editor:

The Afghanistan Forum is about to enter its second year. It does not have its tax exempt status yet; not from any disinclination on the part of the IRS but because your editor fills out forms slowly and procrastinates. Financially we are breaking even. The editor and typist (who are one & the same) and the contributors and proof-reader (who is also the treasurer) are unpaid and, the way things are going, will remain so, which is all right with us. If we had more subscriptions we might be able to expand our activities or at least improve our duplication process.

We thank all of you who write with contributions & suggestions & we hope you will continue to send gossip, news items & information about what you are a) doing about Afghanistan, b) reading or writing about Afghanistan, c) hoping someone will do about Afghanistan, d) want to know about Afghanistan or e) none of the above.

A note on our spellings: We spell things the way they appear in the publications quoted, it being our feeling that much is often lost in "translitteration" - including identities.

The unattributed cartoons throughout this issue are from the Internal Islamic Front of Afghanistan. We are not quite sure who these people are. Does anyone have any information on them?

This is the last issue of this subscription year. Although renewal forms will be attached to the January issue, we shall be happy to receive your renewal checks any time. Subscriptions make nice gifts and we do enclose cards telling the recipient of your beneficence with the 1st issue.

Mary Ann Siegfried
Editor (and typist)

DRA DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Shah Moh'd Dost, Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, will head that country's delegation to the United Nations' General Assembly this fall. Other delegates are H.E. M. Farid Zarif, Ambassador & Permanent Rep. to the UN; Engr. Jaafar Karem, Director of International Economics & Financial Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Abdul Fatah Weedy, 1st Sec'y, DRA Mission to the UN; Mr. Enayatullah Nabil, Dep. Dir., UN Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Ebrahim Nengrahary, 2nd Sec'y, DRA Mission to the UN.

Amb. Zarif will serve on the 1st Committee; Mr. Weedy on the Special Political Committee; Engr. Kazem on the 2nd Committee; Mr. Nabil on the 3rd Committee; Mr. Nengrahary on the 4th Committee; Mr. Shah Mahmood Mostamand, 2nd Sec'y of the DRA UN Mission, on the 5th Committee; Dr. Zia Nezam, Acting Director of the Legal & Treaties Dept, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the 6th Committee. Mr. Rohollah Erfaqui, Officer of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is the Special Sec'y.

* * *

OTHER VISITORS

Dr. Sayd Majrooh, Director of the Afghan Information Center in Peshawar (see p. 17) will visit the US in October & November. He will speak at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City. His visit is being programmed by the Visitor Program Service in Washington, D.C.

A.R. Pazhwak, Afghan writer & former diplomat, has been granted a humanitarian parole by the US State Department.



AFGHAN REBELS & SOVIETS
TRADE BULLETS BUT NOT
PRISONERS (9/1)

By Edward Girardet
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Afghanistan-Pakistan border

... According to various Western and resistance sources, as many as several hundred Soviet POWs are being held by different guerrilla organizations in Afghanistan as well as along the frontier areas both inside and outside the Pakistan tribal areas. A small, undetermined number of Soviet deserters, mainly of Central Asian origin, are also known to be either actively operating with the resistance or living in relative freedom among the Afghans.

In return, the ICRC promised the Afghan resistance that it would visit political dissidents incarcerated by the Soviet-backed Kabul regime and, if conditions permitted, facilitate the controlled exchange of prisoners.

For the moment, Red Cross officials have made it clear that they do not consider conditions good for an exchange. Furthermore, as part of its own traditional humanitarian role, the ICRC has set out to persuade all parties to follow international rules on treatment of prisoners of war and captured civilians.

Since the beginning of this year, however, Red Cross efforts to transfer more Soviet POWs have foundered despite the growing backlog of captured personnel. Confident earlier forecasts of more than 100 Soviets in Swiss internment by midsummer suddenly appeared ludicrous.

For a variety of reasons, the Afghan resistance feels the ICRC has completely failed in its obligations. "We simply do not trust them any longer," said Abdul Haq, a Hezb-i-Islami (Younis Khales faction) commander. "They have forfeited their right to hold our prisoners."

As with many other resistance leaders, the bearded mujahid maintains that the Red Cross has favored Moscow in its dealings. The Swiss have accepted Soviet POWs yet at the same time refuse to oversee the exchange of captured guerrillas. He also argues that the Swiss humanitarian organization has not been forceful enough in seeking improved detention conditions for jailed dissidents. Both charges are strenuously denied by the ICRC.

At Soviet behest, the Kabul authorities had initially allowed the ICRC to monitor conditions in government detention centers in the summer of 1982. A team of four Red Cross officials, three delegates and one doctor, managed to interview 338 alleged political detainees at Pul-i Charki, Kabul's infamous four-block prison. An estimated 8,000 to 15,000 prisoners are believed to be held there at any one time.

The Swiss were also able to visit the dozens of other jails where dissidents, living in intolerable conditions, are known to be detained and sometimes tortured.

Less than two months later, however, the authorities ordered the Swiss to leave. According to informed sources, Moscow was unhappy with the meager trickle of Soviet POWs being transferred by the resistance to the ICRC.

Former inmates who were in the prison at the time of the Red Cross visit claim that many of those seen by the Swiss were Communist Party members or informers planted as prisoners. While numerous bona fide political dissidents were transferred to other blocks, they said others were pressured by the government to misreport conditions or make false allegations in return for reduced sentences.

Red Cross officials are well aware of such attempts to pull the wool over their eyes. They also readily admit limited success in their 1982 Kabul venture but nevertheless considered the visits worthwhile and claim to be persisting in their efforts to regain entry to Afghan prisons.

The ICRC is clearly concerned by what is without doubt a highly complex and unconventional prisoner predicament. Not only are the lives of tens of thousands of imprisoned ordinary Afghan civilians involved, but also resistance fighters, government as well as Soviet troops, many of whom are mere conscripts.

Justifying their reasons for not seeking to initiate prisoner exchanges, Red Cross officials maintain that the situation in Afghanistan is still weighted down by continuing hostilities.

"We are reluctant to exchange prisoners so long as there is no cease-fire with stable fronts, such as was the case following the last Middle East conflict," said ICRC field director Frank Delapraz in Peshawar. "We also consider it immoral to haggle over exchange ratios when one is forced to decide how much each man is worth."

Furthermore, the ICRC argues that prisoner exchanges would only encourage hostage-taking by the government to satisfy guerrilla demands. In one case last year, for example, the authorities summarily executed 50 Afghan prisoners after refusing to exchange them for the life of a Soviet geologist held by the resistance.

"Every Afghan is a potential hostage," added Delapraz. "What is there to stop the Russians from simply moving into a village and taking everyone prisoner?"

The ICRC is now faced with the task of encouraging Soviet POW transfers in order to get the humanitarian ball rolling again. Although Red Cross officials feel that the mere fact the mujahideen are keeping more prisoners alive is already a major step forward, a gesture is now needed to nudge the Soviets.

Some observers argue that, because of this preference to operate discreetly, the ICRC has failed to exert sufficient pressure on the Soviets.

But there is also the feeling that mujahid obstinacy has denied the resistance an opportunity to fully exploit the prisoner issue. By maintaining a steady stream of POWs to Switzerland, the observers say, the guerrillas could draw greater public attention to the ugly little war Moscow would prefer the world to forget.

But even more conspicuous will be the planned repatriation next spring of the first Soviet prisoners to complete their two-year term in Switzerland.

Since early 1982, civil libertarian movements such as the Paris-based Resistance International have been pushing for the right of the ICRC prisoners to be informed by a neutral third party of their choice to seek political asylum in the West or to return to their own country.

Critics argue that as the ICRC is technically responsible for the prisoners (the Swiss government is only providing internment facilities), it is not in the position to act as this neutral third party.

So far, only Soviet diplomats are permitted access to the POWs once every two months, which, Red Cross officials stress, is in accordance with the Geneva convention. Independent bodies such as the International Commission of Jurists or Amnesty International have not been allowed to meet with the captives. Resistance sources maintain they are planning to confront the Red Cross over this issue in court.

For its part, the ICRC claims that in principle it will not force any human being to be repatriated against his will. At the same time, Red Cross officials point out that each POW was thoroughly informed at the time of his transfer at the Afghan-Pakistan border of the consequences entailing eventual return to the Soviets.

Whatever the outcome, each time a POW comes up for release, the Soviets will undoubtedly face a controversial resurgence of publicity over this issue.

Eight Soviet prisoners are at present interned in Switzerland by the Berne government on behalf of the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). As part of a deal negotiated in early 1982 by the ICRC with the major Afghan resistance movements in Peshawar, Pakistan, and with the blessing of Moscow, the Swiss have agreed to hold the Soviets for two years or the duration of the war, whichever comes first.

NOTES ON THE RESISTANCE

"The General Court of the Mujahedeen," a judicial committee of 11 ulemas has reportedly been set up in Kandahar. The Committee is independent of all political organizations & has the respect of all the resistance groups. To implement the Committee's resolutions, an executive body which includes 10 members from each resistance organization, has been formed. Its main tasks are assignments of groups for fighting, distribution of booty, trial of war prisoners & the settlement of conflicts between mujahedeen & the local population. AICMB #27

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Swedish journalist Jan Nylander, back from a 6-week visit to Panjsher, provided the following information: Massoud has a new military structure. He has regionally stationed commandos (Mantaga), mobile commandos (Motahrak), & a new striking force called Zarbat. The regionally stationed groups have a certain number of permanent fighters; the other members work one month as mujahedeen & then have three weeks off to farm. The Valley is divided into military districts (Qaragah). Each Qaragah consists of several villages & has a military, economic & political committee as well as committees for mullahs, judges & the people. Each Qaragah is divided into sub-districts. Massoud's senior commanders are as follows: Dr. Abdul Hay, 2nd in command & in charge of the Panjsher Valley; Hayatullah Khan, formerly with Hezbi-Islami but now with Jamiat & in charge of Ghorband & Salang; Sayaf, responsible for Gulbahar, Jabalusaraj & Bagram; Naim, in charge of Kohistan & Kapisa; & Fahim, who covers Andarab & North Salang. AICMB #27

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A Jamiyat commander from Marmol (near Mazar-i-Sharif) reports that his resistance movement has 73 military sectors in the province with each sector having 500 - 2,000 armed fighters - a few have 3,000. The fighters are or-

ganized into small groups of 10-30 men. There is a group commander, a sector commander & a general commander. The general commander is Zabihullah. Specialists who handle rocket-launchers, mortars & heavy machine guns are attached to some groups. To meet their daily costs the organization takes useful items from the enemy - wheat, oil, heaters, refrigerators, TV sets, etc., which they sell to traders. With the cash they buy what they need. They have captured jeeps & trucks to use for transport. Mahmoud Baryalay & Gen. Sadiqi twice offered Zabihullah financial help & official recognition in return for the safe conduct of DRA & Soviet convoys through the Marmol Gorge. Both offers were rejected. A 3-month alliance has been established among Maulawi Mohammadi's Harakat, Rabani's Janyat, Yunes Khalis' Hezb-e-Islami & Gailani's Mahaz. Nasr & Fedayin, two pro-Iranian groups, are also in the area & are cooperating with Zabihullah.

Zabihullah has opened several schools with religious & secular teachers; the government schools in the area are reportedly closed. AICMB #28

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Maulawi Jalaluddin, the general commander of resistance forces in Paktia, is responsible for the fall of the DRA military posts at Dabgi, Dragi and Leja. His forces also have surrounded the DRA army unit at Urgun and have cut all land supply routes and can reach the airstrip with their newly-acquired heavy weapons. His forces are also active in Zazi-Maidan, near the Pakistani border. He reports that the Turi tribe in Pakistan is constantly smuggling food-stuffs from Pakistan to the DRA headquarters at Zazi-Maidan. From there DRA convoys take the supplies to Khost, Gardez & Kabul. Jalaluddin plans to cut this supply route. Asked about what this would do to the local population, he said: "The shortage of food will hurt the civil population living in Khost & Gardez. But that population, even if they are not pro-government, are still useful for the

authorities; they are running shops, providing the authorities with meat & various other services. We want them to move out of the Government-controlled area & establish their business in the liberated areas; thus the authorities will be in trouble &, most important of all, the children of these people will be saved from the Communist Party intensive training programs." He is not short of arms & ammunition. Some come from Peshawar and some he can purchase from Afghan & Soviet army personnel. His group also captures useful equipment, even tanks & armored cars. * * AICMB # 28

Things are looking up in Logar. Gul Mohammad, a commander in Lalandar, says, "Now in Logar the mujahideen do not care who the leaders are in Peshawar. When there is a call for fighting the Russians everybody is going with everybody." There is heavy security around the Ainak copper mine but resistance units attack supply routes and are having some success. The agricultural situation is ok in Logar & the new harvest is expected to be good. In order not to give the enemy a pretext for bombing & burning, the resistance is trying to carry the fighting away from fields & villages. AICMB # 27

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In Nimruz, Abdul Karim Brahui, an ex-Afghan Army lieutenant, commands the liberation front. The Harakat-Inqilabi of Maulawi Moh'd Nabi is the strongest movement in the province and other smaller groups are working with it. Gang, Chakhansur, Char-burjak & Khash-rod districts are in Mujahideen hands; DRA control is limited to the center of Zaranj and the army base at Kamal Khan Dam. In June 1982 the provinces of Herat, Farah, Ghor, Badghis & Nimruz formed an alliance and the Nimruz Front has helped the Farah resistance. The DRA is reportedly working on the Baluch population of Nimruz, encouraging their ethnic nationalism. The DRA has succeeded with some of the Baluch leaders, but presently there are over 400 Baluch fighters in the Nimruz Resistance Front. The Nimruz Front is working with the local population on

agricultural projects and some experts from Kabul are working with the Front to assist the local farmers. The food situation this year seems to be much better than last year. Some surplus grain has been sent to Farah and Helmand and some has been exported to Iran. The Front has opened four primary schools at Khash-rod and Char-burjak. AICMB #29

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In Fariab, Mohammad Zahir, who operates in the Shirintagab district, reports that the resistance in his area has a council and a high council of commanders who, except for the Hezbi-Islami, take decisions together. This year's harvest was excellent and the people are able to store wheat. He also reported that his group sometimes went as far as 50km into the USSR and had been fighting there. Zahir said that lately the DRA had formed a unit called 'Grui-Makaumat' (resistance group). It was well-armed, paid by the DRA and had some success in creating disunity among the population. The mujahideen had attacked the group and it had fled although the mujahideen had lost some men & many houses had been burned. AICMB #29

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In Jozjan, the major resistance groups are the Harakat (Nabi Mohammadi) and Jamyat (Rabani) but others belonging to Gailani and Gulbuddin are also there. All work together except Hekmatyar's Hezbi-Islami which lately has lost much of its strength & influence. The natural gas sites at Jarq-o-Dorq, Sibirghan & Yatim-Taq are well defended so the resistance cannot launch direct attacks but they regularly cut the pipelines. The agricultural situation there is much better than last year. Presently a seer of wheat is Afs. 60 (as opposed to Afs. 250 last winter). * * AICMB #29

Local elders have reportedly succeeded in reconciling the differences between the Hezbi-Islami (Hekmatyar) and the Jamyat Islami (Rabani) in Laghman. However, some think the truce will not last long "because the hostility between the 2 groups is deep-rooted & hundreds of fighters from both sides have already died during the constant & severe inter-group clashes. AICMB #29

Commander Seyd Naim of Maidan reports that the Soviets have bombarded villages (Ibrahim Khel, Shah Kabul, Deh-Muslim) & destroyed the crops. Resistance groups in Maidan, with the exception of Hekmatyar's are working together; recently Hekmatyar's group attacked Sayaf's group. On top of this, a torrential flood destroyed 2 villages & wiped out the year's potato crop. Cdr. Naim made this report on 8/5; on 8/18 a French journalist reported that Cdr. Naim's group had been disarmed by Hekmatyar's group. The journalist described the Maidan situation as "rather bad. At Chak, the Mahaz Gailani group has made a separate truce with the Khalqis... Sediq, the commander of Sayaf's group which was beaten by Hekmatyar's has joined Harakat." Lt. Amanullah commands the Hezb (Hekmatyar) in Maidan. AICMB #29

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In Farah 2 fronts cooperate, both belonging to the Harakati-Enqlab Islami. The Saji Front, headquartered on Mt. Saji, has 2,500 mujahid; the General Front of Sharafat Koh, under the leadership of Haji Moh'd Shah Ghazi, has 2,000 armed mujahid. All of the province is under mujahid control except the provincial capital & Jowan, Kelakah & the Farah Road districts. The economic situation in the province is terrible; the people are making their shoes from the tires of a gunship shot down last year in Sharafat Koh. The Soviets repeatedly bomb villages & many civilians have been killed & crops & animals destroyed. ACA Bulletin, August

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Sepa-i-Ashora is a small group of Hazara active in Bamyan. In March they attacked a DRA hospital & captured the medical equipment plus some small arms. One Sepa-i-Ashora commander was killed but 60 DRA soldiers defected to the mujahideen. Other parties & organizations in the area are Harakati Enqlab Islam, Islamic Unity Council, Jamiat Islami & the Islamic Party. ACA Bulletin

The Aid Committee for Afghans' Bulletin gave the following chart of prices of basic commodities in Sarab, a subdistrict of Ghazni Province: (Prices are in Afs.)

Commodity	Amt.	Spring 83	82	start of war
Wheat	7kg	160	100	40
Barley	7kg	120	80	30
Shakhel*	7kg	110	75	25
Moushung*	7kg	90	70	25
Animal Oil	½kg	120	70	30
Vegetable	1kg	155	90	52
Black tea	½kg	160	100	40
Rice	7kg	280	195	90
Kerosene	1 gal.	120	100	40
White cloth+	/meter	35	-	-
Hay	7kg	75-90	-	-
Alfalfa	7kg	80-120	-	-
Fuel wood	28kg**	150	-	-

* Shakhel & Moushung are animal feed but this year the people are eating them.

+ Used for shrouds.

** Barely enough for heat & cooking for 1 day.

The high price of animal fodder forced many people to sell their animals.

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ORGANIZATIONS Continued from p. 19

AID COMMITTEE FOR AFGHANS (ACA) has two offices. One is at Shaheen Town, St. #9, House # 493, University Road, Peshawar (P.O. Box 303); the other is at Hajiabad, Toqhi Road, in Quetta. Apart from their Bulletin (see p.), they have clinics in Peshawar & Quetta and social service hostels for urban refugees. They are primarily involved with the problems of the Hazara.

REFUGEES Continued from 15

the six major groups purporting to represent the bulk of the refugees. In any case, the UNHCR emphasised, individual refugees are within their rights to refuse to return home, regardless of any agreement on mass repatriation. After reporting to the secretary-general on the discussions with Hartling, Cordovez plans to initiate talks with Pakistani authorities, probably before the UN General Assembly convenes in mid-September, about setting the opinion-sampling machinery in motion as early as possible.

INTERVIEW WITH A FORMER RECTOR OF KABUL UNIVERSITY from the Afghan Information Centre Monthly Bulletin, No. 28, July 1983.

Dr. Haidar, 58, educated in law in France, was Professor of Law at KU, Dean of the Faculty of Law and Rector of the University from 1973-74. He was dismissed for "reasons of incapacity." From 1974 to 1978, he was under house arrest.

Soon after the communist coup of 1978, he received a personal message from Taraki (who had been his neighbor for years) inviting him to rejoin the Faculty of Law. Six months later, when sitting in his department, an agent of AKSA (now called KHAD, or State Security) arrested him and took him to their headquarters. After 6 days he was sent to the Pol-e-Charkhy Prison without having been interrogated. There he was pushed into a small cell where 22 prisoners were already living. Every night he witnessed prisoners in his cell being taken for interrogation. When they were brought back it was clear that they had been beaten, and the blood was running from different parts of their bodies. The majority were students of the university and colleges. At the end of 1979, during the general amnesty of the new Karmal regime, he was released with thousands of other prisoners. ...

After his release, Dr. Haider stayed at home until 1981. Again he was invited to resume his teaching at the Faculty of Law, which he did. However, the whole atmosphere at the college changed in 1982. The alarming indication of this was that 3 highly-qualified professors, including Dr. Hassan Kakar, were arrested. The situation at the university became tense. Everybody who was not actively collaborating with the regime was considered a potential enemy.

Asked about the situation in the university, he said: "About 80% of the qualified university teachers have already left the country. In the Faculty of Law alone, only 4 of the 30 highly educated professors remain, and the most have been replaced by young Parchami Party activists, the most mediocre of all the students who were promoted from the university." Among the students, the ones who volunteer to spend three months at the fronts are automatically promoted to higher classes without examination. That is what is called the law of automatic promotion at Kabul University.

The number of male students at KU is decreasing. Dr. Haidar said that at the beginning of 1983 he was astounded to discover that one section of the freshman class he was to teach was composed entirely of girls. When asked why there were no boys, the girls answered that the boys were in the army or somewhere else.

He reported that the university, originally open from all sides with no entrance or gates, is now surrounded with barbed wire with only 2 points of entry and exit. For each building, only one exit remains open with armed Party guards checking the people coming and going.

At the Faculty of Law (one of the 8 Faculties of KU), the chief Soviet "adviser" was a man called Prof. Sandrovsky, and 6 other Soviet advisers were working under him. Haidar said: "Sandrovsky was a very quiet man, not talking much and never involving himself in an academic discussion....(His) team of 6 Russian teachers...were not professionals. They introduced new subjects which included Marxism-Leninism and international law from the Soviet point of view. Their one year of teaching experience was not a success; they were not able to overcome the indifference of the students towards the new subjects." Asked about the number of students, he said that in 1973, when he was rector, there were 14,000 and now, in 1983, less than 5,000 remain.

Haidar interview...continued

According to his estimate, more than 50% of old Kabuli families have left the country. Kabul has been invaded by refugees from the provinces. As they feel relatively more secure inside the city, they keep quiet and maintain an appearance of submission to the regime. The security measures are very tight; at every crossroad there are tanks and armored cars stationed and Soviet soldiers stand ready to fire.

Asked about the morale of Red Soldiers, Dr. Haidar said that they are very young and indifferent to their job. Their morale is very low and most are extremely unhappy. They feel isolated in a hostile environment; they are hungry; they are exposed to the hard climactic conditions of the country - extreme cold in the winter and the scorching sun of summer days. They find small compensation for their suffering in smuggling, looting and smoking hashish.

He said Kabul is in a state of siege; government control is limited to the urban area extending to the Paghman crossroad (to the west), Khair Khana (north), Microrayon (east) and Bini-Hissar (south). After 6 p.m. all the outskirts of the city including Chehelsetun, where the Soviet chief military adviser lives, and Darulaman, where the Soviet Embassy and the Ministry of Defense are located, are essentially in the hands of the resistance.

Dr. Haidar also discussed the rival groups that are said to exist inside the Parcham faction of the ruling party: "There is a Kishmand group with his sister very active among the women and a Karmal group with Anahita and Baryalai, his brother. In the Khalq faction, a group called "goroh-e-kar" or "work group," led by Hamid Mohtat and Dastagir Panjsheri, is kept in the shadows by the Soviets for a possible role in the future. People such as Golabzoy, Minister of Interior, Sarwari, Ambassador to Mongolia, Watanjar, Minister of Communications, Panjsheri, Member of the Central Committee, and Qadir, Minister of Defense, have the favor of the Russians and deal directly with Moscow. "In Kabul there are states inside the state: there is a Parchami state, a Golabzoy state and a KHAD state. The Russians are in the middle of a situation which they do not seem to have faced elsewhere in their empire and they are not happy about it."

AFGHANS FORCED ME TO LIE,
FRENCH DOCTOR SAYS
(South China Morning Post 6/14)

Paris, June 13.

Dr Philippe Augoyard, a French physician who returned home on Saturday after spending five months in an Afghan prison, said he had been forced to make disparaging statements against the Afghan resistance under threat of life imprisonment or death.

"It was the only way to save oneself, it was useless to resist," said the 30-year-old doctor, a member of a French humanitarian medical aid programme who was taken prisoner by Soviet soldiers south of Kabul on January 16 while treating rebels.

He was sentenced to eight years in prison after "confessing" in a publicised trial to having illegally entered Afghanistan and "aided and collaborated" with insurgent forces.

He said he was promised release "in three weeks or a month, regardless of the sentence handed down" in return for statements discrediting the Afghan resistance and accusing them of terrorising the population.

The trial was "a show, directed as propaganda for the Kabul regime," he told a press conference. "I was told exactly what to say. The answers were dictated to me. It was ridiculous, totally false."

Dr Augoyard said he was never subjected to physical abuse during his imprisonment, but saw evidence of torture on other prisoners.



He said the region of Afghanistan where he had been working was being heavily bombed, and he fled to a mountainous area in the middle of the night, arriving at morning in a village where he sought refuge in a mosque after losing sight of his companions.

He said he and a local peasant were captured by Soviet soldiers, who treated them "correctly" and turned them over to the Afghan authorities in Kabul.

He was lodged with Afghan political prisoners, four or six to a 15 sq metre cell on foam mattresses with blankets, but no heat.

"The food was acceptable," he said.

Despite assurances by his jailers of quick release, his liberation was repeatedly delayed.

"I had done what I had to do for their propaganda," he said. "Consequently, I should have been released. It was humiliating to have to say things I did not believe in."

Dr Augoyard was pardoned by the Afghan authorities eight days ago after considerable international pressure.

The Afghan Embassy in Paris said the French Government had never officially requested his release, and that there had been no negotiations on a governmental level.

It said an appeal by French Communist Party chief Mr Georges Marchais had been instrumental.

A spokesman for the French medical group Medecins Sans Frontieres said some 20 foreign physicians are currently working in resistance controlled areas of Afghanistan.

—AFP

MEETINGS & PROGRAMS, Past, Present & Future & Other Items of Interest

The 1983 New York Asian Conference at Canisius College (Buffalo) will have two sessions of interest to Afghanists: Friday, October 2 at 4:00 p.m.

Soviet Asian Policy - panel led by James Duran of Canisius College and Saturday, October 8 at 7:30 a.m. Of Soviets, Muslims & Central Asia by John Lindell of Hartwick College. Information is available from Prof. Edwin L. Neville, Jr., Canisius College, Buffalo, NY 14208.

The 12th Annual Conference on South Asia will be held at the Madison Campus of the Univ. of Wisconsin from November 4-6. Sessions of interest include:

Regional Perspectives of the Conflict in Afghanistan scheduled for Friday, Nov. 4 at 10:00 a.m. Tom Gouttierre is the panel organizer.

Afghan Refugees/Afghanistan's Political Future on Saturday, Nov. 5 at 4:00 p.m.

Other sessions which may include Afghanistan are From the Borderlands: Linguistic Analyses of Languages

Spoken on the Frontiers of South Asia (11/4 at 1:15 p.m.), Geopolitical Aspects of Pakistan (11/4 at 3:15 p.m.), Foreign Policies in South Asia; Hopes, Fears, Panics & Passions (11/5 at 10:15 a.m. Part I; 11/5 at 2:00 p.m. Part II).

Information is available from the South Asian Conference, c/o Wisconsin Center, 702 Langdon Street, Madison, WI 53706.

Islamic Literature Media (ILM) held an exhibition on Islam & the Muslim World in Cape Town, South Africa on July 15, 16 & 17.

The 7/19 issue of the New York Times reports that there is an Afghan restaurant in Ann Arbor, Michigan. (Does any reader know the address - or the menu?)

The 17 Annual MESA CONFERENCE, to be held in Chicago, Nov. 3-6, will have several panels on Afghanistan. One session will be on Status & Significance of the Crisis in Afghanistan, chaired by Robert Canfield (Washington University) & Nazif Shahrani (Pitzer College). Participants will include Selig Harrison, Mobin Shorish, Eden Naby, Grant Farr, Ludwig Adamec, Alexandre Bennigsen & Tom Barfield. Write MESA, Dept. of Oriental Studies, Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 86721, for more information.

An International Conference on Afghan Alternatives will be held from Nov. 15-18 at the Monterey Inst. of Int'l. Studies. The meeting is sponsored by USIA, the National Strategy Information Center & the Earhard Inst. of Int'l. Studies.

An article by Charles Dunbar, former charge d'affaires at the US Embassy in Kabul, will appear in the Nov/Dec. issue of Asia Magazine.

The first issue of the English Bulletin of the Central Council of the DRA's National Fatherland Front was published on the occasion of the 64th anniversary of Afghanistan's independence. The Bulletin will be issued monthly.

The State Department Conference on Afghanistan is scheduled for December 12 & 13. Tom Gouttierre is arranging the program which will be held in Washington.

There will be a conference on Afghanistan in the Boston area in October. The meeting is by invitation only but we hope to have a report on the sessions in the next issue.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"The Peace Corps & the Making of a Rug Dealer: Reflections on an Afghan Experience" by George O'Bannon, a 3-part article in *ORIENTAL RUG REVIEW*, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2 & 3, April, May & June 1983. The Same issues also have a translation by David Bradley & Louise Virgin of "Carpets of the Peoples of Central Asia" by V.G. Moshkova, published in 1970 in Tashkent. The *ORIENTAL RUG REVIEW* is published monthly. Subscriptions are \$40/year & can be ordered from their office on Beech Hill Road, RFD #2, Meredith, NH 03253. Single copies are \$4.00.

A HITCH OR TWO IN AFGHANISTAN - A VISIT BEHIND RUSSIAN LINES, by Nigel Ryan, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1983. 216 pp., 8 pp. b/w illus. \$9.95. An account of a 2½ month visit to the Panjshir.

"A Breakthrough in Afghanistan?" by Selig Harrison in *FOREIGN POLICY*, #51, Summer 1983. (See extract on p.)

THREAT FROM THE EAST? - SOVIET POLICY FROM AFGHANISTAN & IRAN TO THE HORN OF AFRICA by Fred Halliday, Penguin Books. \$2.75.

"Glimpses of a Holy War" in *TIME*, June 20. Report of a 6-week trip in Afghanistan by Joseph Albright & Marcia Kunstel.

THE GEOGRAPHY & POLITICS OF AFGHANISTAN by R. Gopalakrishnan, Humanistic Press, Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1982. 275 pp., app., bibliog., index. 0-391-02726-3.

"Massacre in the Tunnel" by Samuel Perkins in *READER'S DIGEST*, August 1983.

WEST ASIA ON A SHOESTRING by Tony Wheeler, Lonely Planet Publications, Australia. The August 1982 revision still includes information on Afghanistan with the caveat that getting there (on or off a shoestring) is unlikely.

"Afghanistan'da Yasayan Turk Kavimleri-nin Durumu" (Turkic tribes in Afghanistan) by Dr. K. Tai in *DOGU TURKISTAN* (Eastern Turkistan), Sayi: 24-30-Yil:3, Istanbul, 1983 (in Turkish).

"Afghan Refugees, Aid & Anthropologists" by Akbar S. Ahmed in *ODI REVIEW*, Vol. 2, 1980. Available from Sage Publications, P.O. Box 11017, Beverly Hills, CA 90213 (or, 28 Banner Street, London, EC1Y 8QE, UK). Single copies are \$14.00 (\$8.00).

The special issue of *WORLD AFFAIRS* (The Journal of the American Peace Society) on Afghanistan has been published. The issue is edited by Rosanne Klass & contains articles by Leon Poullada, Yossef Bodansky, Abdul Tawab Assafi & others. Copies are available for \$4.00 from *World Affairs*, Heldref Publications, 4000 Albemarle St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016. (Bulk orders of 10 or more copies will be \$3.00/copy.)

M. Siddieq Noorzoy presents much information in "Alternative Economic Systems for Afghanistan," his article in the *JOURNAL FOR MIDDLE EAST STUDIES*, Vol. 18, #1, 1983, published by Cambridge University Press. (0020-7438/83/-010025-21. \$2.50).

Hot off the Kabul Presses: Neda-i-Sulh, a pamphlet published by the Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization on the eve of the 5th anniversary of the Saur Revolution. Revolutionary Afghanistan through Honest Eyes* was issued by the Foreign Ministry & has opinions from "over 100 political & social figures of the world & journalists of different countries." Kabul, 1983, 180 pp. Birthplace, Work & Struggle, a brochure published by Haqiqat-i-Engelabe Saur (the official Party paper) has a message from Mahmoud Baryalai & reflects the gains of the Saur Revolution. Payami Haq is a magazine published for the 2nd anniversary of the NFF.

AFGHANISTAN AZAD (in Dari) is a bimonthly publication from the General Union of Democratic Students & Patriotic Afghans (GUDSPA) and can be ordered from them at P.O. Box 1322, Antioch, CA.

*The Afghan Mission to the UN has copies of this (866 U.N. Plaza, NY, NY 10017). Publications from the Mission are free but they would appreciate your sending either stamps or money to cover their mailing costs. This book is the size of a standard paperback so \$2.00 should cover the postage.

Recent Publications... continued

INDIA IN AXIS STRATEGY: GERMANY, JAPAN & INDIAN NATIONALISTS IN THE 2nd WORLD WAR by Milan Hauner, Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1981. 631 pp., chron., appen., biblio., index. \$115. (Distributed by Mary S. Rosenberg, 17 West 60th Street, New York City.) Hauner "has determined that Afghanistan was one of the meeting points of Axis & British interests, & more than one-sixth of the book deals with cloak-and-dagger machinations in that mountain kingdom, particularly with the work of Rahmat Khan (Bhagat Ram Talwar) who, he finds, was a triple agent."

MUJAHIDEEN PUBLICATIONS

The BULLETIN of the Aid Committee for Afghans, P.O. Box 303, Peshawar, appears monthly & reflects in simple English the "reality from Afghanistan." We have received three copies of this type-written 3-page Bulletin & all of them have contained interesting information (in interesting English). (See p. 23)

The AFGHANISTAN JIHAD is published by the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen in Peshawar in English. The first issue appeared in May; the subscription for the bimonthly publication is \$120 per year. (We are checking on this & hope to have an address & a verification of the price in the next issue.)

The JIHAD RAYS first appeared in Peshawar on 10/20/82. Gulbuddin's group publishes it. For information write Eshan Jan, H., No. 20, St. 37, F 6/1 Islamabad, Pakistan. Nancy Dupree reports that the Afghan Information & Documentation Center, P.O. Box 324, Peshawar, provides telexes (about 10/month) on current happenings inside Afghanistan & a monitoring service of Kabul Radio for Rs. 1000 (ca. \$79). (A.I.D.C. also has an office in Paris at 5, rue les Cases, 75007, Paris, France.)

JUNG-E GHARGISTAN, published by the Society of Ghargistan Culture (in Farsi), P.O. Box 63, Quetta, June 1983. Articles & poetry.

THE CENTRAL ASIAN NEWSLETTER (Vol. 2 #4) describes a number of mujahideen publications which have been received at the Society for Central Asian Studies, P.O. Box 131, Oxford OX1 2NJ, UK. Their information on Esteklal follows:

o Esteklal, published by the political group Afghan Millat (Afghan Social Democratic Party), 8 issues in 1982 (fourth year of publication). Afghan Millat (the name of the group's earlier publication) was published weekly during the constitutional period under King Zaher until Daoud's coup in July 1973. The editor of the newspaper was Qadratullah Haddad, half brother of Gholam Mohammad Farhad, a German-trained Pushtun nationalist, mayor of Kabul in 1948-1951, and a member of Parliament. Haddad and other members of Afghan Millat were jailed in July 1978 by Taraki and Amin. Farhad was jailed in November 1979 by Amin. Haddad was liberated in January 1980 and went to Peshawar. Afghan Millat (the party) in the past has promoted Pushtun nationalism under the guise of progressive socialism. Afghan Millat (the newspaper) used to publish maps of greater Afghanistan including parts of Eastern Iran and Pakistan. Non-Pushtun Afghans have claimed that the newspaper received money from the Indian embassy in Kabul; Pakistan considered the party as an enemy. Afghan Millat was also responsible for promoting hatred of the Western world among Pushtuns. Many young Pushtuns, such as Aslam Watan-jar, who became Khalqis later on were connected earlier with Afghan Millat. In 1978-79 Dr. Wakman, an economist living in Delhi spoke forcefully on behalf of Afghan Millat as a nationalist and socialist (but not Islamic) movement. Esteklal, the new organ of Afghan Millat, has now changed its thrust by ceasing to claim the right to a Pushtunistan, which means that its antagonism to Pakistan has evaporated. Its Pushtun nationalist trend has diminished, as has its pro-Indian position. The paper now talks about the unity of all Afghan peoples and has adopted Islamic slogans. (In some issues one reads about Afghan claims on Pang-deh (in Soviet territory, southeast of Merv), which was occupied by Russian troops in March 1885. The newspaper has revived the emblem adopted by King Amanullah in 1928. Afghan Millat is now lead by Shams al-Khuba Shams from Peshawar. (See p. 16 & KNT 5/11)

BOOK REVIEWS

IN AFGHANISTAN - AN AMERICAN ODYSSEY by Jere Van Dyk, New York, 1983, Coward-McCann. 235 pp., \$18.95.

Opened to foreigners only in recent times and then increasingly closed since the time of Daud's coup d'etat, Afghanistan is now in the throes of a civil war and a controversial foreign intervention, which colors whatever one reads about the country. Since December 1980, knowledge about Afghanistan hangs on the threads of information gleaned from defectors, refugees and the few Westerners who joined up with the Mujahideen. None of these sources is satisfactory. Afghanistan eludes description and understanding even in the best of times. Now it is especially hard to form an opinion on questions like how is the resistance coping with the Soviet occupation, what is happening to Afghan society in this war and what prospects for peace exist? Jere Van Dyk makes a brave attempt not just in risking his life to travel in war-torn Afghanistan, but also to penetrate past the passions of his Mujahideen companions and protectors to answer these questions. The story he tells is not how he gets in and out of Afghanistan (although the book sometimes borders on this), but how Van Dyk manages to disengage himself from the preoccupations and illusions of this war.

The Western observer is a "prisoner" in Van Dyk's words, of the Mujahideen, who expose themselves to greater risk by sheltering a guest. In return they want the observer to believe that the resistance is defeating Soviet aggression, that Afghan society is becoming more Islamic (or more revolutionary), and that peace will come when the Russians pull out. Van Dyk dutifully records this. But he records everything and therein lies the value of this book. A more polished or artful style might have concealed some of the raw truths which this book contains. Writing every moment into a little notebook, Van Dyk preserved the random details that instill belief in his observations (although Van Dyk's penchant for colorful oriental cliches and legends must be accepted with a heavy dose of salt).

Van Dyk visits Paktia. He finds, inter alia, that smuggling in Westerners is almost a cottage industry. The war is supported by smuggling and the resale of weapons seized from the Afghan army. He describes how the corruption of money pouring into the NWFP is having an unsettling effect on the social relations of the Pathans. Van Dyk acknowledges his unease at the freebooting nature of the campaign. In the countryside power comes into the hands of khans, mullahs or ex-army officers who inspire some confidence into the lonely, boring and violent existence of the guerrilla camps. Neither organizationally, ideologically nor in a military sense are the guerrillas described here very impressive. The war is not, apparently, having the kind of effect on these Afghans as the Indochina war had on the Vietnamese, or the Algerian war has there.

The impression one gets of this desultory war is, how could it go on at all? Paktia is probably the most corrupted and disorganized part of the resistance - a thought which Van Dyk suggests but does not assert. Unlike Hazarajat or Panjshir, where a more homogeneous group of guerrillas is fighting under their own leaders, and where the influence of Pakistani money and power is less evident, Paktia seems to be a mere anarchy, where no government prevails. The reason why the Soviets do not mount an all-out attack to clear the province is not military. The guerrillas could too easily melt back into the NWFP and, besides, they pose little threat to the regime. Panjshir, Hazarajat, Kandahar and Herat are the provinces that worry the Soviets.

RESOLUTION OF THE ISLAMIC UNITY OF AFGHAN MUJAHIDEEN (5/22/83)

In the name of God, the most compassionate and graceful

Exactly one year and 9 months have elapsed since the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen was founded at the Ashrafia Mosque in Peshawar. And in line with the 4th provision of the Charter of the Islamic Unity, a 60-member supreme Islamic Council from the members of the 7 merged parties was set up.

Owing to the practical and relentless efforts of the Supreme and Executive Councils of the Unity, a great headway has been made in the process of unification and lots of hitches have been removed from the way of a complete unity. However, yet more decisive and practical steps should have been taken for the complete realization of the Unity. Therefore, an extraordinary session of the Supreme Islamic Council of the Unity was convened on 5/22/83 and the following decisions were issued as a consequence:

1. The leaders of the merged parties in the Unity should resign.
2. The previous parties should be dissolved.
3. The assets & resources of the previous parties should be transferred to the Unity.
4. The 13th provision of the charter of the Unity should be altered so as to provide for the 2-year renewable tenure of the President. (Before, the President's tenure was subject to renewal at the end of each month.)
5. The election of the president should be held in this session (5/22) of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Unity. In accordance with the above decisions, the leaders of the previous parties formally resigned, declared their parties dissolved and transferred their assets & resources to the Unity.

The leaders who implemented the above decisions are as follows:

1. Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani (Jamiat-i-Islami)
2. Eng. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (Hezb-i-Islami)
3. Mulavi Nassrullah Mansour (Harakat-i-Enqelab Islami)
4. Mulavi Moh'd. Mir (National Liberation Front)
5. Mulavi Rafi-ullah Mouzin (Harakat-i-Enqelab Islami)
6. Abd-i-Rab Rasoul Sayaf (Islamic Unity for Liberation of Afghanistan)
7. Mulavi Yunis Khalis (Hezb-i-Islami Afghanistan)

According to the adopted decisions at the session of 5/22/83, the election for president was held and Prof. Abd-i-Rab Rasoul Sayaf was elected as the President of the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen for a period of 2 renewable years.

All leaders offered their allegiance to Professor Sayaf in line with the Islamic Sharia' (jurisprudence).

Two years from now, the Supreme Council of the Unity will again hold elections for President.

Herewith the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen reached its final and completion phase and a united Mujahideen Leadership was declared eventually (sic).

(We thank Mobin Shorish for sending us this document.)

To find the more serious fighting Van Dyk also covers the war in Kandahar. He describes the Mujahideen as more organized and motivated than those in Paktia, led by men more likely to be from their own tribes or villages. The fighting takes place in the maze of tillage surrounding Kandahar. Taking advantage of the mix of belligerent and non-belligerent countryside, the Mujahideen can attack government troops or the airbase, or they can infiltrate into the city to carry on house-to-house fighting. The enemy's only option, and Van Dyk experiences how they use it, is to strike "suspected" villages with helicopter gunships. The toll on the non-combatants is great. No one can avoid the fighting. Villagers fear Mujahideen reprisal for helping the government. Van Dyk concludes with sympathy for the determination of the Mujahideen to fight on, and with horror at the human cost of their actions.

The way of life described in this book is familiar to anyone who has been to Afghanistan. Considering the level of fighting, the 3 million refugees and the radical policies of the Kabul government, life goes on as usual. Fortunately for the reader, Van Dyk does not sensationalize this. And why should he? People in the troubled 20th century have learned to carry on during civic traumas. Especially the Afghans who have long lived and coped without the security or justice they deserve.

David Chaffetz
New York, NY

POLAR BEAR, a collection of poems by Moh'd Hasham Zamani, translated from the Pashto by Sher Zaman Ghamzhan, April 1982. 88 pp. 1,000 copies printed.

This collection was published in Pashto in December 1980, the year in which all the poems were written. The author circulated the earlier Pashto version to the leaders of all the liberation fronts and selected 3 responses which are included as an introduction to the English version. The book is nicely printed, has a 4-color cover and illustrations. The author writes: "I got the book translated into English for foreigners so that they also should know the battle-cries and formidable (sic) Afghan determination to drive the invaders out of their homeland." Most of the poems are blood-curdling and presumably have lost much of their literary quality and fervor in translation, although one of the respondents to the Pashto version is quoted in the introduction as follows: "My interpretation of your poetry is: It is the product of the Jihad and the war of liberation. And in order to be used back in the Jihad, the product is recorded in a book." Perhaps the author has some doubts, too. One of the poems is titled, "I Wish I Were a Poet." Some samples:

HEART ARTERIES OF THE BEAR

Push out the Russians from your country,
With unity and firm stand,

The blood of two million Afghan martyrs
Red-carpeted your way to freedom.

You can cut the heart arteries of the Bear,
Your sabre is strong and sharp.

WELL DONE!

Many nations have been soaked
In their own blood bath
So rip up the Polar Bear's belly
Which has devoured its prey.

TREMLES!

Strong the Polar Bear may be,
To scare the people the world over, yet
The Afghan is no coward to be frightened,
Deranged, the Bear trembles with fear.

The Forum may be able to obtain copies of this revolutionary treasure. Anyone who would be interested in buying a copy (the price should be about \$6) should drop us a line and we shall try to order copies. Please indicate whether you want the English or the Pashto version.

Mary Ann Siegfried

The headlines in the papers covered in this issue resemble the headlines in the papers covered in the last issue. Now the decisions of the 11th plenum of the PDPA CC are being supported; lots of mosques are being built and rebuilt; the tribal elders are meeting in support of the DRA; seminars come and go as do many of the leading PDPA members (on trips to Mongolia, Cuba, the USSR, etc.); the workers and peasants toil on; and imperialist forces are causing all the trouble in Afghanistan; however, production is up on all fronts.

3/31 - The State Medicinal Herbs Corp. exported ca 26,000 tons of herbs which brought a foreign exchange equivalent of Afs. 1 billion last year. The major items are licorice, caraway seeds, gum arabic, clover seeds, anise & jujube.

4/2 - The NFF wrote to UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuellar calling on him to use his influence to make the USA stop its aggression against the DRA.

4/3 - The high committee of investment of the DRA approved 36 small & medium sized projects which will require a capital investment of Afs. 840m. The projects, to be set up in Kabul, Helmand, Jauzjan, Balkh & Nangarhar, will provide employment for 2,000 workers & will cover carpet-making, plastic utensils, "woolwash," non-alcoholic drinks, food processing, shirts, etc.

4/4 - A state guest house "with classic architecture" will be completed by 3/84. The 3-story building will have 32 rooms, 10 toilets, a kitchen, water supply, electricity & central heating & will cost over Afs. 80m.

4/5 - The 29th anniversary of the Afghan Geological Survey was the occasion for a "day of festivities of the geologists." Maps (scale 1:500,000) have been completed for all parts of the DRA. - 250,000 food coupons were distributed to workers this year. So that commodities will be available, the DRA has contracts to procure "21,000 tons of cooking oil, 10,000 tons of tea, 10,000 tons of rice, 20m blades, 3,000 electric ovens, 200,000 switches & sockets & 250,000 lamps." Bachelor coupon holders are allotted 28kgs of flour/mo; married holders, 56 kgs/mo. The USSR will deliver clothes worth Afs. 6m,

41,000 match boxes, "2.9 thousand soaps," etc. Other commodities will come from the German Democratic Republic & India. "The prices are subsidized by the state, & the state bears a considerable loss for the sake of the well being of the people."

4/9 - "All-people working day marked with fruitful collective work." The work took place from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. on projects ranging from sapling planting to mosque repair.

- The slogan for health, announced on World Health Day (4/7), in 1983 is "health for all by the year 2000."

- The National Institute of Tuberculosis has treated 50,000 cases in the past year.

4/11 - 180 youth of the Qalai-Zal district of Kunduz "voluntarily joined the ranks of the armed forces & police command."

- The KAM Corporation produced 8.7 crates of Fanta, Coca Cola & Sprite" last year for a profit of Afs. 175.84m. (We'll drink to that!)

4/12 - Sultan Ali Keshtmand stated that "about Afs. 63 billion have been spent from the state budget for the development of the national economy, for the accomplishment of cultural & social services & for the elevation of the living standard of the people after the new revolutionary phase of the revolution during the past 3 years." But...

It should be pointed out, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers observed, that the counter-revolutionary bands exported from abroad have destroyed half of the total number of schools of the country, over 50 per cent of the hospitals. 14 per cent of the state transport motor vehicles and three fourth of all comm-

unication lines and a number of hydro-electric and thermal power installations of the country.

The damages inflicted to the country in this respect amounts to 24 billion Afghanis. This amount means half of the total investment which had taken place for the growth of the economy during the 20 years prior to the revolution.

He underlined that at the moment the country is confronted with financial problems. This position is due to the fact that the national income has not increased, and the level of domestic products has come down which have given rise to the diminution of the volume of domestic resources.

Likewise, the financial position of the country is adversely affected by raising the state expenditures, prior to all to meet the defensive and security requirements of the country. In addition to the above factors, he stated, the defective pricing system also affects the financial position of the country.

Sultan Ali Keshtmand stressed that a series of urgent questions must be solved at the moment for which large monetary sources are needed. Under the present conditions the national economy is confronted with the shortage of power. But efforts will be made for the construction of the hydro-electric power structures and diesel and gas turbine will be purchased and employed.

Keshtmand added, transportation is one of the present problems of our country. The existing motor roads fall short of our needs and the present means of transportation are not adequately used.

The problem of irrigation in agriculture is also urgent and important. The irrigation of 2.5 million hectares of land is an acute and serious need in order to solve the problems of providing cotton for the textile mills and sugar beet for the sugar factories. The solution of these problems require considerable resources.

Keshtmand said, different nationalities, tribes and clans live in the Democratic

Republic of Afghanistan. The state budget plays an important role in the task of solving the national question with the view to removing economic and cultural backwardness of nationalities, and tribes living in the country and maintaining equal rights for them. The planned distribution of financial resources through the budgetary system helps in the task of raising the living standards and in the cultural growth of all nationalities and tribes in the country.

The revenues, which will be collected from the people in the form of income tax from the salaries and in the form of land taxes in the year 1362 will amount to 340 million Afghanis while the state expenditure to meet the needs in education, public health and social securities will amount to 3.2 billion Afghanis which is 9.4 time greater.

The central committee of the PDPA and the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan emphasise that the major portion of the budget revenues through taxes and monetary payments should come from the local units of the country's financial organs. The task of collection of land revenues and other taxes should be actively accelerated. But it should be mentioned with regret that this task has not been performed yet, as required.

Sultan Ali Keshtmand said, while in the year 1357 280 million Afghanis were earned through land revenues, in the year 1360 only sixteen million Afghanis were obtained. There are many other such examples concerning the taxation and other monetary payments, he said.

4/13 - The Kabul central fire dept. has built a 15-meter tower for training fire fighters. The largest fire in Kabul last year was in the Benazir Hotel. Firemen rescued 70 persons while putting out the fire.



Fire Brigade in action. 4/13

4/16 - The Hindu festival of "Raisakhi" was celebrated in Kabul (and on 4/17 in Jalalabad). An edition of the youth newspaper, Darafsh-e-Jawanan, was published in Hindi for the occasion.

- The orange blossom festival was held in Jalalabad.

- A union of the national investors in Afghanistan was formed recently by the Chambers of Commerce & Industry.

4/19 - "Attractive sports activities have been organized at a national level" to celebrate the 5th anniversary of the Saur Revolution. Included are ping pong, basketball (for girls), boxing, wrestling, chess, weight-lifting, volleyball (for girls) & football.

4/20 - "7000 kids receive pre-school education." Children aged 3 months to 3 years are admitted to kindergartens; those from 3 to 6 are admitted to nurseries.

- Eight counter-revolutionaries accused of bombing the market near the Pamir building on 11/24/82 were sentenced "to various punishments after being tried in several sittings of special revolutionary tribunals." One was sentenced to death.

4/24 - A cooperation agreement concerning radio, TV & film was signed by the DRA & the People's Republic of Mongolia.

- Construction was started on the Wazir Abad Canal. The 15km canal, 3½ meters wide & 3.6 meters deep, will have 9 bridges, cost Afs. 2m & be completed in 2 years.

- The Imprisonment Decree was passed. (See p. 39)

4/25 - Delegates from Mongolia, Kampuchea, India & Japan arrived to join the 5th anniversary of the Saur Revolution celebrations. (They were later joined by delegates from Poland, USSR, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Cuba, Bulgaria, Hungary, North Korea, Iraq, Nicaragua, Laos, the PLO & assorted friendship societies.)

4/30 - "Grand Ceremonies" marked the 5th "varsary" of the Saur Revolution on 4/27:

The official ceremonies for the celebration of the anniversary of the revolution began with the march past of the units of the armed forces, police and security forces including commando, paratroopers, armoured corps, artillery rocketry, airforce and anti-aircraft units, cadets of military academy and police and border militias together with their armoury and logistics.

These units marched past the lodge of the Revolutionary Council where Babrak Karmal, Ge-

neral Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of Revolutionary Council of DRA flanked by high ranking party and state leaders took their salute. Squadrons of helicopters and jet planes of the airforce of the DRA also staged a fly past on the occasion.

The military parade was followed by a long festive march of the citizens of Kabul including the party members, workers, peasants, and members of social organizations and trade unions of the DRA. The marchers chanted revolutionary sl-

ogans and carried with them the photos of Babrak Karmal, posters, banners and placards with inscriptions depicting their

deep gratitude to the party and to the revolutionary state in their zeal and fervour to construct a new prosperous and blossoming society.

4/30 - Karmal unveiled a commemorative monument to the Saur Revolution at the Jeshyn ground & planted a sapling.

- Radio Afghanistan has new studios & new equipment. "With the installation of new equipments, Radio Afghanistan will be able to increase its broadcasts from 24 to 45 hours." (See 5/5)

5/2 - The PDPA signed a cooperation protocol with the Nicaraguan Sandinista Front to strengthen & expand friendly ties "all-sidedly." - The DRA & Czechoslovakia signed a sports protocol.

5/5 - The refurbishing of Radio Afghanistan (see 4/30) cost Afs. 3.6m & includes new news broadcast rooms & big studios for recording music & dramas. Broadcasting hours will increase "from 29 hours to 40 hours in a clock-round period." (Revisionist clocks, too?) The present 2-channel system will be increased to 5 or 6 channels & there are 3 125kw diesel generators for use "in case of electricity interruption."

- The Government Printing Press published "174,598 books, 159,301 copies of daily newspapers, 1740591 (sic) copies of weeklies & 642,683 copies of magazines" last year. The press also printed "sufficient amounts of publications, pamphlets, cards, envelopes & others. It also sold an amount of left out papers." "The Press has 754 workers & employees of both sexes on its payroll. Of this number 411 are workers."

- The Decree for "commutation of terms of imprisonment of prisoners on the eve of the Saur Revolution" & addendum #2 of "the regulation for organizing the activities of the irrigation ministry have been enforced."

5/7 - The 25-year master plan for Kabul City will be implemented with Soviet cooperation "to bring about a balanced development & to resolve most of the socio-economic problems."

5/8 - "A group of parachutists of the 37th Commando Brigade who had demonstrated interesting performances on the eve of the 5th anniversary of the Saur Revolution, received honorary badges of the sports department."

5/9 - The drinking water supply in Kabul will be increased from 2300 sq. meters to 74,000 sq. meters in 24 hours by 3/20/84. The water will come from the Logar & Afshar Rivers.

- A 20 Afs. stamp was issued on May Day to commemorate world workers.



5/10 - Over 2,000 women have been organized in 11 women's clubs in Kabul. 17 other clubs have been established in the provinces.

- The expulsion of Peter Graham brought this comment from Bakhtar:

Now that the heroic people of Afghanistan have well distinguished their friends and foes and deal be-littling blows to the counter-revolution the US imperialism has resorted to opium war and has showed obscene printed materials through a number of magazines such as Playboy, international orgy clubs, "Men only" clubs etc. and distribute them among our youth through the diplomats of the US embassy

to spoil our youth and to weaken and reduce their combat strength. This is the example of the gift of the American Islam in our country. . . .

With the disclosure of this corrupt business of Mr. American diplomat, the disguised and corrupt American life is once again unveiled and our compatriots see that those who tear their throats for Islam are drowned themselves in the pit of corruption.

5/11 - All members of the "central nucleus of the Afghan Melat" were arrested. "Sufficient documents were obtained from them & they have confessed to their counter-revolutionary activities..." (See p. 28).

- A "youth township" will be built in the Jashen area of Kabul for "the purpose of improving the rearing & healthy upbringing of the younger generation." The project will be completed in 10 years & will include "a central camp of 'pioneers of Afghanistan,' a youth palace, the mausoleum of the champion youths of the revolution, palace of technical innovations & the palace of arts of youth..."

It will also have theaters, cinemas, hostels, restaurants, a gym, swimming pools, printing house, etc.

5/12 - Ariana carried over 80,000 passengers last year - 62,000 on external flights & 18,218 on internal ones. Ariana has 1 DC-10 and 2 727s & has weekly flights to Moscow, Prague, Berlin & Tashkent; 2 flights to Delhi; 4 to Amritsar; a freight flight to Dubai; 2 flights to Kandahar & 1 to Mazar-i-Sharif. Next year Ariana hopes to inaugurate passenger flights to Dubai and the UAE & a flight to Hong Kong. The airline will run special Haj flights this year.

5/16 - A "number of anti-revolutionary prisoners were set free from Pulicharki prison" in accordance with the 5th anniversary decree. Reportedly groups of prisoners will be released until June.

- Foreign trade statistics:

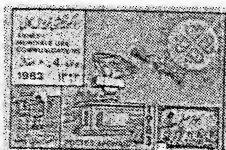
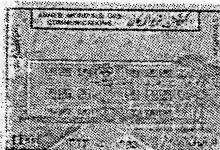
Foreign trade of DRA amounted to 1276.4 million dollars in 1361 HS (ended on March 20, 1983). From this, 677.21 million dollars constituted the value of exports and 599.21 million dollars the value of imports.

Foreign trade circulation in 1762 (HS) is estimated at 1371 million dollars which is higher by 95 million dollars or 7 percent as compared with the preceding year.

The total volume of exports are estimated at 700 million dollars in 1362 (HS) whereas it was 677 million dollars last year indicating an increase of 3.5 percent as compared with the preceding year.

The composition of foreign trade in 1362 (HS) is organized in such a way that Afghanistan will enjoy a favourable balance of trade by 29 million dollars.

- Stamps of Afs. 4 & 11 were issued on World Telecommunications Day.



5/22 - 6,700 students are enrolled at Kabul Univ., and a night school for government employees has been established at the university. The university has "40 Afghan lecturers and more than 60 instructors from the friendly countries."

5/25 - Bakhtar reports that "Mowlawi Moh'd Nabi Khalis, a so-called leader of a rebel bandit group, has recently married with a young girl & paid hundreds of thousands of rupees for a marriage settlement."

5/31 - Czech workers gave Afs. 600,000 worth of aid to Afghan workers. The gift included children's and women's clothes.

- The fifth group of prisoners jailed for counter-revolutionary offenses were released yesterday.

- The geo-engineering group has completed the 1/10,000 scale topographic map of Kabul City; the 1/100,000,000 & 1/500,000 maps of the capital & southern parts of the country; maps of 1/1,000 of the "limited northern & eastern parts of the country;" maps of 1/150,000 of the Kabul & Ghazni zones; and surveys of the coal & gold deposits in the northern & western parts of the country. Eng. Moh'd Ali Haidar stated: "The preparation of color geological & mineral maps of Afghanistan with the scale 1/500,000 and the printing of a book titled 'The Structure of Geology & Minerals in the Country' in Russian & English languages with the cooperation of Soviet experts, are also among the works carried out by the directorate."

- The total volume of goods exchanged through the Hairatan, Shirkhan & Toorghondi ports was estimated at 855,600 tons last year, according to an Afsotr official. Of this, Afsotr handled 337,200 tons. "For getting transportational means, loading & unloading apparatus & various spare parts, 93 separate contracts of 136,35516 (sic) rubles have been signed with the trade unions for foreign trade of the Soviet Union."

- A number of the toiling women who voluntarily enrolled themselves in the trolley buses driving course for carrying out services inside the city started their practical work in Mirwais Maidan route yesterday."

6/1 - The hotel enterprise authority announced an income of Afs. 43m with a net of Afs. 6m last year. Hotels in Kabul had over 50,000 guests, held over 300

wedding receptions and 200 official & private banquets. 14 hotels & 5 restaurants are controlled by the authority.

6/4 - Sayed Afghani, Pres. of the DRA Ulema & Spiritual Figures High Council, was awarded the Avicenna prize by the USSR.

6/7 - Contracts for new deep-drilling rigs & irrigation repair machinery were signed by the Irrigation Ministry & the Soviet United Commercial Inst.

- The Gogerdak & Jarqduq fields produce 2700m cubic meters of gas annually "out of which 2400m cubic meters is exported." Annual revenue from gas exports is \$300m.

- "Towards the revival of the language & literature of the brother nationalities," a report, was published in Haqiqate-e-Engelabi Saur on 6/5. Brother literatures seem to include works in Dari, & the Uzbek, Turkic, Baluch & Pashayee languages.

6/12 - Karmal visited Kandahar on 6/9 & called for "the US, Iran, Pakistan & China to cease their aggression against the DRA." He met with the people, Army Corps #1, religious leaders & other "in-charges" & visited the Kandahar woolen mill. "Babrak Karmal, on his way from Kandahar city to airport got off from his car, shook hands with the people who had cheerfully lined up on both sides of the road...to bid farewell to their beloved leader."

- Cooperation documents signed by the DRA & the USSR include the following: establishment of a "10kv transmission line of Koshki-Toorghundi," construction of the Toorghundi railway line, an anti-locust campaign, oil & gas drilling & exploration, & a thermal power station in Mazar-i-Sharif.

- During Ramazan the night curfew will be from 11 p.m. - 3 a.m.

- Dr. Ogayard, the "French spy" who was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment, was pardoned by the RC Presidium and left for Delhi on 6/10. (See p.25)

6/13 - 8,000 will receive Haj permits this year.

6/14 - A 1 Af. stamp was issued to commemorate the 2nd "varsary" of the NFF.
- The DRA has allocated Afs. 56m to the Religious Affairs Dept. for needy clergymen & mosque repair. "The amount allocated for this purpose is unprecedented in comparison to the preceding year."

6/18 - The Central Council of the NFF has created 588 councils throughout the DRA with a membership of over 100,000.

6/19 - The CAM company is upping their production of non-alcoholic drinks during Ramazan. The "raw materials" for Coca Cola are provided "from Coca Cola companies in Ireland, London, Rome, Istanbul & Lahore."

6/21 - This year's plan for mineral extraction calls for 50,000 tons of salt, 10,000 tons of "plaster" (gypsum), 54,000 cubic meters of building stone, 6,000 cubic meters of "pebble" & 6 tons of lapis lazuli.

- Repair work started on the Shahrara Tower in Kabul. "...the repairing & decorating...would be performed in accordance with the movements (sic) repairing style adopted by the Archaeological Institute of Afghanistan."

- M. Seddiq Tarzi, 75, died yesterday of natural causes. Tarzi, an historian, was president of the Kabul City Council of the NFF.

6/25 - Officials & employees of Kabul U. "have decided to contribute a percentage of their salaries every month to the Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization of the DRA." (On 6/29, AFSOTR workers came to the same decision.)
- The State Information Service has published 4 books on the crimes of "US Imperialism in Africa, Europe & Latin America."

6/26 - Ali Keshtmand met with provincial governors & announced that the "provincial authorities were taken out from the framework of ... the Ministry of Interior & ...their direct relations were ensured with the authority of the Council of Ministers, i.e., the Government." (Interior Minister Gulabzoy returned yesterday from the USSR.)

7/4 - The 12th Plenum of the PDPA CC opened yesterday. It was agreed that CC plenums would be held twice a year. The following alternate members were promoted to full CC membership:
Sayed Ikram Paigir, incharge of Archives & Liaison Office of the party CC;
Abdul Sattar Purdeli, president, Central Council of Trade Unions; Abdul Ghaffar Lakanwal, Minister of Agriculture & Land Reform; Moh'd Anwar Farzan, secretary, RC Presidium; Noorulhaq Olomi, commander, Army Corps #2. Newly elected CC members are as follows: Ahmad Shah Sorkhabi, Minister of Irrigation; Sarwar Mangal, Minister of Higher & Vocational Education; Shahnawaz Tanai, commander, Army Corps #1; Abdul Ghaffar Azad, secretary, Herat Party Committee; Abdul Wasi Kargar, worker in Mines & Industries Ministry. Newly elected alternate members are Adena Sangeen, Mayor of Kabul; Khodaidad Basharmal, commander, Eastern Zone; Sayed Nasim Maihanparast, chief, Northern Zone; Abdul Qadir Ashna, president, State Committee for Culture; Abdul Aziz Majidzadah, deputy, supervision & controlling commission of party CC; Abdul Fattah, commander, Air Forces; Ghulam Farouq Yaqubi, general deputy pres., State Information Service; Fazil Ahmad Toghian, governor, Kabul Province; Farid Mozdak, secretary, DYOA CC; Moh'd Israel Rasi, secretary, Badakhshan party committee; Moh'd Afzal Loddin, commander, Army Corps #3; Moh'd Ewaz Nabi Zadah, deputy minister, Nationalities & Tribal Affairs; Moh'd Farouq, commander, Frontier Forces; Moh'd Kabir Kargar, worker, Mazar-i-Sharif power plant; Nihmatullah, chief, Central Zone & Yari Qelich Dehqan, "a peasant."
- The Law of Archives was published in the Official Gazette of 15th Jauza, 1362. The law has 5 chapters & 50 articles.
- Counter-revolutionary leaders are making out in grand style according to Heywad: Gulbuddin owns a fleet of taxis in Pakistan, luxury apartments in Tehran & the US, a jewelry store in Rawalpindi, Japanese car sales agencies in Pakistan, a drug store in Quetta, a water pump factory in Lahore and millions of Pakistani rupees in the Habib Bank and "hundreds of thousands of dollars in his personal account in the American Express Bank in Brazil."

Gilani has 3 large buildings in Rawalpindi, is involved in the "manufacture and smuggling of narcotics & arms peddling," &

keeps his money in the American Express Bank in Geneva. Rabbani "earned more than Afs. 20m" last summer in narcotics and currently has "licenses from Pakistan government to establish a poultry farm, a textile mill & a carpet weaving factory." Abdul Rasoul Sayaf has "recently established a goods transport company... He embazzled (sic) \$600,000 belonging to the so-called Islamic alliance. This led to his dismissal from the presidency of the alliance." Mujaddedi has established a "big motor company...with an initial capital of \$750,000 and also he has several hundred thousand \$US in his account in Arab banks."

7/6 - Babrak explained "necessary changes" in land reform procedures which will take place in the next few months. He told the PDPA 12th plenum that "the anti-feudal orientation of the reforms has to be more explicit & implemented more consistently." There is a need to change radically the monetary liability of the peasants who are allotted land. Babrak said that now "a peasant who has 21 - 25 jeribs of land must pay more than Afs. 20,000 for receiving official title deeds."

- The Export Promotion Bank will loan Afs. 1600m "to provide special facilities for export of goods at the exchangeable currency. The EPB has close links with the famous international banks specially Irving Trust, Union Bank of Switzerland, National Westminster Bank, Bank of America, Deutsch Bank & Wells Fargo Bank."

- The Communications Ministry has issued Afs. 4, 12 & 21 postage stamps "with fine colors."

7/7 - Karmal left for a friendly & official visit to the Mongolian People's Republic. Also along are S.M. Zeary, A.M. Sarbiland, S.M. Dost, Moh'd Anwar Ferzam (sec'y of the RC Presidium), Abdul Qadir Ashna (Pres, State Committee for Culture), Sakhi Daneshjo (Dep. Foreign Minister) & Gen. Moh'd Aziz Hasas (Cdr. of the National Guard).

- The 1416th "varsary" of the revelation of the holy Quran was marked at meetings throughout the country.

7/10 - Protocols were signed with the USSR on inter-governmental economic cooperation. The USSR will give the DRA 170m rubles consumer credit, defer other loan payments & continue the service of "some 100 advisory of that brotherly country who are busy serving at the state organs of the DRA."

7/16 - Karmal returned from Mongolia on 7/13, in time to call for "Islamic fraternity among Muslims" on Eid-ul-Fitre.

- A friendship treaty was signed by the DRA & Mongolia on 7/12.

- Some prisoners, including women, were released on the eve of Eid-ul-Fitre.

7/17 - "At present there are 107 heads of animals, 210 birds and 270 fishes & reptiles in the Kabul Zoo." The zoo is administered by the Kabul Municipality and earned over Afs. 1m in admission fees last year. The "feeding & living conditions" of the birds & animals are at "international standard." An exchange agreement between the Kabul and Czech zoos has been signed.

7/18 - The Noor Eye Institute treated over 66,408 patients last year.

- Of 31,000 people examined in the Helmand Malaria Control Center, 15,000 had the disease.

- An atlas of the DRA will be published with \$500,000 assistance from Poland. 8,000 copies will be printed in Dari; 2,000 copies will be printed in English. The atlas is expected to be completed in 1985.

- The drawing of names of Haj applicants began in Kabul. Kabul Province's quota is 1,000 of whom 500 will be women.

7/24 - "Flowers of Struggles," an anthology of work by Pushtun poet Ajmal Khatak, has been published. "The political transformations of Afghanistan especially the April Revolution has a deep impact on the poetic intuition of Ajmal Khatak."

- Over 100,000 "pieces of historical & ancient relics have been put on display in the National Museum of Kabul during the past few years."

- The Teacher's Professional Complementary Inst. has helped 25,000 "persons of the teaching cadres" become acquainted with the new system of education. "The new system takes the national & democratic interest into view." The Institute has 82 professors.

7/24 - The Armed Forces Publication Dept. has issued 130,000 volumes since the Saur Revolution. A few titles: "Blood & Love," "Salute to the Tulips," "America! America! Death to America," "Hundred Beneficial Advises," etc. The press also publishes 2 military magazines, "Urdu" (Army) & an aerial defense forces magazine. "Urdu" has a circulation of 5,700; Aerial, 7,240.

7/27 - Jawad Ghaziyar has become one of the favored singers on Kabul Radio-TV.

7/30 - Sultan Ali Keshtmand, in a speech in Zaranj in Nimroz Province:

... We call on our Baluch brethren who constitute the great majority of Nimroz province to make use of their legitimate national right for the development of their culture and national characteristics. The party and the revolutionary government have prepared the possibilities for the growth of the language and national culture of the Baluchi people and will certainly expand them and pay respect to their national characteristics, traditions and national customs. Right now practical possibilities have been prepared to teach

the sons of brave and patriotic Baluchi people in their mother tongue.

Separate publications are carried in Baluchi language. We are seriously desire that the local cadres are trained and educated from among the people and in contact with the people and to take the administrative affairs in their own hands. Of course the observance of the right of national sovereignty of the people of Baluch in Nimroz province will never mean that the rights of other nationalities residing in this province such as Pashtuns, Tajiks and others are neglected. ...

7/31 - DRA security forces uncovered explosives in the Housing Construction Factory on 7/30. "The designs of counter-revolutionary terrorists who wanted to commit another crime have been foiled."
- A new teaching system (see 7/24) was inaugurated in 1979 and is now being implemented from grades I - IV.
- Millie Bus has carried over 3m passengers in the first quarter of this year.

8/1 - The visit of the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs to Pakistan irked the Afghan authorities. "The Chinese hegemonists are also not lagging behind in making use of the propaganda crusade & psychological warfare of imperialism against the DRA. They are violating the accepted norms of international conduct."
- A 10 Afs. stamp was issued to commemorate World Day.

8/2 - Ali Keshtmand reported to the Council of Ministers that industrial production in the first quarter of the current year was up 10.5% compared to the same period last year.

8/3 - Ali Keshtmand congratulated the Kabul City Central Committee on its efforts in "exerting control over the implementation of state plans." The total number of institutions "lagging behind" during the first quarter of 1362 has been reduced from 16 to 6. He noted, however, that "the work for admission of workers, peasants and craftsmen to the ranks of the party is not satisfactory... Work with the probational members who constitute 41% of the Kabul City Party Organizations & their training is not carried out in accordance with the aspirations & demands of the party. ... The sense of criticism & self criticism has not yet popularized in the primary party organizations... Likewise, no decisive principled struggle is made inside the party against destructive selfish & fractionist elements. A number of claimants find a way in the party unwantedly to play a role as fake defenders of the interest of the toilers. They should be exposed."

- Sericulture is flourishing. Quotas of cocoons and egg stock are sent to each locality and "put at the disposal of hucksters & peddlers at reasonable prices & terms. The achievement of this end has a profound impact on raising the life standard of the peddler population of the country."

- The 8th plenum of the DYOA opened yesterday. Farid Mazdak was elected 1st Secretary of the DYOA Central Committee.

- "A single mechanic in Kabul repaired 25 motor vehicles in one month."

- A note on Balkh: "There are 97 agricultural cooperatives in Balkh Province. Of these 3 are active."

TODAY'S TELEVISION

Thursday Night TV
Programme: 6:00-Peaching, 6:10-Knowledge for all, 6:40-Sports round up, 6:55-Advertisements, 7:00-News and Commentary (Dari), 7:20-Variety Music, 8:00-News and Commentary (Pashtu), 8:20-Music and 9:00-Feature Film.

Continued on p. 46

KABUL, April 24 (Bakhtar).—The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA has issued a decree for pardoning the prison term of a substantial number of men and women.

The decision was adopted on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the April Revolution and on the basis of humanitarian principles.

The following people will be benefited by the implementation of the decree.

1—All those who have the age of puberty.

2—Those women who are sentenced to five-year imprisonment, disregarding the period spent in prison.

3—Those men whose age is over 65 years and are sentenced up to a term of five years.

4—The men who are sentenced to one year imprisonment, disregarding the time spent in prison.

5—Those men who are sentenced up to five year imprisonment and have passed half of this term in prison.

The following prisoners will receive reduction in their terms of imprisonment:

1—Those women who are sentenced to over five year imprisonment, half of the term of imprisonment will be reduced.

2—Those men who are sentenced up to five year imprisonment, provided they have not passed half of this term, half of it will be reduced.

3—Those men who are sentenced over five year imprisonment, one third of this term will be reduced.

The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA once again draws the attention of those compatriots who by force or unconsciously were deceived by the false propaganda of the enemies and have joined them, to the general amnesty decree of the Revolutionary Council, dated Jawza 28, 1360 (June 18, 1981) which reads: In case these deceived people of our country voluntarily join their popular government, they will be received warmly and no punishment will be given to them.

On the eve of the fifth anniversary of the glorious Saur Revolution the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA brings to the attention of those deceived compatriots that if they lay down their arms from Saur 7th upto Saratan 20, 1362 (July 11,

1983) which coincides with the first day of Eid-e-Feter, the government of the DRA will guarantee their safe returning to their homeland and will take measures for their security as well as providing all the facilities for their peaceful living.

People who have committed terroristic acts as well as those who are members of the so-called Harakate-Engelabe Islami, Sama, Nasaar and Rehayee bands are excluded from the benefit of this decree.

The decree will be enforced from the date of its endorsement and will be published in the official gazette.

Babrak Karmal,
President of the Presidium of Revolutionary Council of DRA.



A scene of the reviewing stand of the military parade commemorating the 5th anniversary of the Saur Revolution.
(Baktiar photo, KNT 4/30)

CHRONOLOGY

5/24 - South China Morning Post (SCMP) - Seven Islamic parties elected Prof. Abdulrab Rasool Sayaf, a former lecturer in Arabic at Kabul U., as president of the Islamic Unity for a 2-year term. (See p. 2) Most aid from Arab countries will be funneled through this group.

6/1 - NYT - Three fundamentalist guerrilla groups united for an assault on a power generator in Kabul. The generator survived but 35-50 DRA soldiers were reported killed. A guerrilla attack last week in the Logar Valley resulted in some 50 DRA troop deaths.
- SCMP - Kabul Radio reported that Defense Minister Abdul Qader presented medals to 564 officers for "Heroic deeds." This was his first appearance since his brawl with Dep. Min. Khalilullah. (See #3, 5/25. p.8)

6/2 - SCMP - In a dispatch from Moscow, the New China News Agency called the USSR's idea for a political solution in Afghanistan "only the same old stuff. There is no change in Moscow's basic stand on the problem, nor will there be in the near future."

6/6 - NYT - A combined force of 500 mujahideen captured an army base at Juma Bazar near Maimana. 90 DRA soldiers reportedly were killed or captured. The base was established 2 months ago.

6/8 - NYT - Diplomats said that guerrillas killed 200 soldiers in a 3-day battle in Paktia 2 weeks ago. The rest of the DRA forces reportedly defected to the mujahideen. Guerrillas also damaged runways at the airports in Herat & Mazar-i-Sharif.

- FEER - "21 Afghan & Soviet soldiers died when guerrillas attacked Jalalabad airport, the pro-resistance Islamic Press reported (5/29)."

6/10 - CSM - Dr. Philippe Augoyard, captured by the DRA in January, was released. (See p.25)

6/10 - The total World Food Program assistance to Afghan refugees in Pakistan is \$217.2m, the Pakistan Times reports; the 8/14 Pakistan Affairs states that 1m tons of food has been distributed.

- Remember Vladimir Danchev, the indiscreet Radio Moscow announcer? The CSM reports that Radio Moscow's messages are now pre-recorded and that Soviet authorities say Danchev has been sent back to Tashkent "but apparently not detained." Vladislav Krasnov, a Radio Moscow defector (in 1962), however, writes in the NYT 8/6 that Danchev was "banished from Moscow to an insane asylum in faraway Tashkent." Krasnov also feels that Danchev could not have been indiscreet without accomplices.

6/11 - Pakistan Times (PT) - "A representative of an Afghan Friendship Assn, Mr. Tajuki Yasunaka, who brought a consignment of medicine & medical equipment for the mujahideen, has embraced Islam & is now serving the Afghan people & mujahideen in liberated territory of Sarobi sub-division of Kabul Province."

- Andrei Gromyko told Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan that Pakistan had an important role to play in reducing tensions in Afghanistan because it was primarily from Pakistan that armed incursions into Afghanistan were being carried out. He said that a political settlement in Afghanistan would improve the situation in southwest Asia & would allow relations between Pakistan & the USSR to develop favorably.

6/13 - PT - Mujahideen reportedly liberated the town of Chamtal near the Soviet border in Balkh Province & killed Ghulam Moh'd Khan, the commissioner of the area.



The basic report of the PDPA CC 12th plenum read by Babrak Karmal (KNT 7/7/83)
[Greatly reduced by Western technology - we suggest magnifying glasses should
readers want the full impact..]

Comrades, the Politbureau of our party, the PDPA, believes that the time has come that we should assess the path we have traversed since the country-wide conference of the PDPA and to formulate the undelayable duties that the party and the state face.

First of all it should be stated that life has proved the correctness and soundness of the conclusions and provisions of the Programme of Action of the party and the decisions of the party. Nationwide Conference in general. The Central Committee of our party, its Political Bureau and Secretariat, the government of the DRA and the local organs of the party and the state have persistently implemented the policy formulated at the conference and have achieved on its basis greater normalisation of the situation in the country.

How do we evaluate the path traversed and what are its basic characteristics?

First of all the counter-revolution has failed in its effort to change the course of the evolution of the revolution. The people have increasingly realized the progressive objectives of our revolution and are rendering jaw-breaking response to the enemies of the country. The people are supporting our government, because our government is a government of justice and peace, which are desired by all patriots of Afghanistan. The counter-revolutionaries cannot hide these facts by a wave of lies, slanders and accusations.

In addition we have always stressed that the Saur Revolution and the fact that we have seized power are for solving the basic problems of the people and the country. We can now satisfactorily state that the reconstruction and the growth of institutions and industries and agricultural projects are to a large extent dragged in the forefront of party and state activities, in which lies the important factor of our complete and final victory.

It should be specifically stated here that a new factor, that is the broad system of party organizations and committees, has been created in our social and political life, the role of which is continually growing. These very committees and organizations put into practice the policy of our

party and realize the link of the party with the people.

It should be stated that the majority of these organizations and committees have correctly understood their exalted duties and work effectively and purposefully. They truly analyse and solve the problems of the life in the provinces, cities, counties and sub-counties.

The fact that imperialism and reaction did not succeed in isolating revolutionary Afghanistan on the world arena is of principled significance. Power of international solidarity rendered the riots and conspiracies of the enemy futile. This solidarity cannot be summarized in only the economic and military assistance. For us the strength of our friends in constructing a new society, their great experiences and their wise and timely consultations are of true vital value.

Comrades, without underestimating what has been achieved, it should be explicitly stated, that the party and the state still face difficult and complicated problems on the way to ensure peaceful conditions and to raise the living standard of the people. Have we solved the party's measures for carrying out these interdependent tasks? No. It is obvious that all the necessary measures have not been taken. The life and the situation in the country, both require more and much greater efforts. The party directives which have been reflected in the decisions and resolutions of the country-wide conference and the ninth, tenth and eleventh plenums of the PDPA CC, are directed at this fact.

Meanwhile it should be stated that these decisions and resolutions have themselves not been fully implemented. Our inefficiency, disorganization and lack of self discipline, speed of action, etc., have caused this state of affairs and have prevented the full implementation of these decisions. We have discussed these many times, but still necessary struggle is not being tolerated against these deficiencies. The cause of the revolution requires that these deficiencies should be ended once and for all. Now it is important to direct the attention of the entire party, government and the state power organs to specific tasks.

The Politbureau has prepared a broad draft of plan

for specific actions to be taken for the execution of the most important and most urgent tasks which lie ahead of the country.

Today we should study this document profoundly, and then should mobilize all the entire party and the patriots for the implementation of these undelayable tasks. Since the members of the Central Committee have copies of this document with them, allow me to speak on the most important aspects of the work that should be carried out.

Comrades, the consolidation and evolution of the party and enhancing its role in society and the state has formed and forms the main content of our political life. We state with satisfaction that the PDPA is being turned to a more true organizer and real leading body of masses.

In this connection all the services and efforts of the entire party and its organizations and committees are brilliant. The reporting campaign that took place in our party for the first time clearly manifested this fact. This campaign suggested the new experience of the party, widened the framework of inter-party democracy and provided the possibility for the correct evaluation of the activities of party committees and organizations.

Presently our party is composed of more than 80 thousand members and probationary members. During the year 1362 the membership of the party grew by about 35 percent and this growth is continuing. This is an evidence of the increasing prestige and authority of the party and the consolidation of its link with the masses.

At present more than 30 tribes are represented in our party. Sixty five percent of the members of the party are at or below the age of 30. New and young forces are continually replenishing the ranks of the party and the future also belongs to them. During the year 1361 a total of about 31 thousand persons were accepted as probationary members of the party. The composition of the new members shows 18.9 percent workers, and 33.3 percent, peasants. But despite of this, the workers and peasants constitute only 28.4 percent of the total party members. This percentage should be greatly increased. The party composition should reflect the composition of the toilers of the co-

untry. The Central Committee considers this as of prime importance. All issues related to the structure and evolution of the party were profoundly and precisely evaluated in the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the party.

A few days ago the Politbureau confirmed the statistical report of the year 1361 and took a number of decisions in this connection. In this regard I would like to mention three important points:

The first point is that in the future too we should pay attention to the quantitative growth of the party. Matters related to the selection of the most able, conscious, active and loyal individuals to the party should be dealt with more precisely and seriously.

The second point is that at the present the party in the recruitment of peasants, craftsmen and a number of other toiling groups is faced with specific difficulties. Truly, how can a peasant or craftsman join the party while there are no primary party organizations and persons who could introduce them to the party? Therefore, serious attention should be paid to the creation of party organizations at the village levels and the residential areas of the toilers. The Politbureau should take specific decisions in this connection.

The third point is that party committees should pay greater attention to the improvement of the qualitative composition of the party ranks, to increase workers, peasants, soldiers and militants of the revolutionary defence groups in the ranks of the party. Now the calculated and qualitative composition of the party is the order of the day.

Comrades, as you know, we should also take up the matter related to the consolidation of the party unity at this 12th plenum. The oneness of the party ranks is strengthening. This is the outcome of long and persistent work and efforts of all party organizations and committees and party members towards the elimination of factionary efforts. Albeit, we have not attained organic unity as mentioned in the tenth plenum. This is also a fact.

We still hear many complaints emanating from factionary activities, which result from the lack of hope and lack of ability to organize joint work and friendly relations.

But now we will look into the essence of the issue. What are the causes of factionism, which are widely spoken of? Faction is a separate part of the political party. It has its own political programme, which is hostile to the principles and basic programmes of the entire party. This expression is used in this manner in all revolutionary parties. Now we evaluate the existing reality of our party. The programme of action and the charter of the party is common to all of us. All party organizations are working for the objectives and execution of these documents. The members of our party have no difference of opinion with it on the interpretation of these documents. Then what is the reason? The fact is that tribalism family ties, the warm circles of personal friendship, love of position and lack of mutual trust have harmed the unity of the party. This situation is a result of the backwardness and lack of political maturity of a number of the comrades, who, taking advantage of their personal prestige and official position, have created groupings of a number of individuals who are loyal to them or who are disconnected with the party. These groupings are then used in the interest of personal inclinations and attitudes.

Individuals who place these interests above the wishes and demands against those of the party, do not wish and cannot organize friendly and orderly work and do not want to observe discipline. Under our conditions, such persons in essence form the factionism.

They prevent the effective and purposeful execution of the exalted objectives of the party as the leading and leading force of the society. They must have no place in our party.

The members of the Central Committee of the party has been clearly and explicitly reflected in the decisions of the tenth plenum of the CC of the PDPA, that these duties have been specified for party organizations and committees. It means that the above mentioned party ranks through their action and should influence the party work with education of the party even to the limit of the exclusion of those individuals from the party who disrupt the unity of the party. Six months have gone by since the tenth plenum and now we are forced to confess that a great number of the party organizations and committees and

a great number of the responsible party authorities have not taken the decisions of the tenth plenum as urgent and militant programme and have shown weak response to it and they have displayed laziness, superficial response and have dealt with it as a matter of formality. They have drawn too serious and practical results. Under such circumstances, the situation does not improve at all or if it does it is very slow. This situation cannot be tolerated.

The role and responsibility of the control and supervision commissions of party committees and political departments and the control commission of the Central Committee of the party should be raised. Party committees on all levels and the Central Committee as well as the Politburo and the secretariat of the party should deal with this matter more seriously and specifically.

This should be remembered that there exist no party without unity and without the existence of a united party victory is impossible.

Now we shall speak about the matters related to the policy of cadres. The importance of this issue is clear. Because the party puts in practice its policies through cadres.

Before every thing else we want to speak about the need, improving and completing the method of selection and appointment of cadres. I state, that this task should be improved and completed, and it should continually improve in the future. But it should be said that in this sphere we have not received orderly, organized and logically-prepared and justified proposals but we have confronted with hurried and hasty reallocations which are not systematically and deliberately calculated.

The transfer and appointment of cadres is, of course, a need. Under the present circumstances that we are faced with the shortage of experienced and ready cadres, we are obliged to raise cadres to higher positions and to test their practical and political characteristics directly in the course of their performance.

We should consciously promote those comrades who have proved their competence and ability in practice. In the near time, it should not be forgotten that the policy of cadres should possess stability. That is, individuals should be given time to learn the related work without haste. On the other hand work should be done for the creation of reserve cadres who should be promoted in the future.

In addition, unprincipled action is not permitted in the policy of cadres. Those who cannot discharge their

duties should be demoted, and should be entrusted with jobs which they can adequately discharge.

The persistent and continual persistence of the policy of cadres, in connection with the selection and transfer of cadres with due consideration to their practical and political character, is essential for the unity of the party and increasing the effectiveness of its activities.

Working in the field of cadres, necessitates that the characteristics of the Afghan society, national traditions of our society, its culture and religion should be taken into consideration and should be utilized as much as possible. In localities, the representatives of those tribes which make up the majority should be brought to the forefront of the party and administrative work. The local influential and dignitaries as well as the clergy who support the revolution should be relied upon courageously. Also respectable individuals and among them the representatives of toilers should be drawn to the administration. These persons should be trusted, and they should be entrusted responsible positions in the organs of local administrative power.

In addition, for the realization of the policy of cadres, we should reasonably coordinate the bringing of new young and revolutionary cadres with restraining the cadres with restraining the cadres who display perseverance, precision, soundness and continuity in the state machine. Those who are speaking about the gradual change of the state machinery under the control of our revolutionary and democratic sovereignty and not about the breaking of this machinery.

The method of operation of the state apparatus and the attitude of the staff towards the toilers should not be the same as in the old society. The institution, man should feel the atmosphere of interest, enthusiasm, sympathy, attention and care for the needs. Party committees of ministries and other state organizations should consider it their duty to create such atmosphere. But the true influence of party committees on the prevailing situation in state organ is insufficient.

The departments of the Central Committee and party committees of the ministries and other state organizations have the duty to follow this objective purposefully and persistently to victory. This work has important political significance. The words of the leader of world proletariat should be always remembered. He said: "Revolutionary leaders have the duty

to gain the boundless trust of the masses through comradely attitude and care in fulfilling their needs."

Comrades, analyzing the situation of the country and the ways to normalize the situation further, we clearly feel that the need to consolidate the revolutionary sovereignty is a main factor for ensuring peace and progress of the country. The "construction of state power" is the most fundamental factor of politics.

We have always stressed the consolidation of state power. Organs of state power have been created in the center, provinces, and the majority of counties and sub-counties and operational. In spite of all the defects at exist in their operation, it is important that these organs do exist and in principle are able to carry out their duties. Promoting party influence on these organs and their leadership will help the organs in discharging their duties in a more effective way.

But in my opinion, there is specific disproportionality in the state structure in the center and provinces. The creation, construction and growth of local organs of state power clearly do not cope with the needs of life and situation. In the past plenums too, I spoke about this fact, but the measures that have been taken in this connection are not sufficient. Today it is necessary that the central and provincial state and party organs should seriously and with decelerated effort strengthen the local organs of state power. In this connection, I consider it essential to mention the following points:

1. Under the circumstances that our cadres, especially in the provinces of the country do not possess sufficient organizational and planning experience, coordination in the actions of the party committees, local organs of state power, social mass organizations, the armed forces, the police force and the State Information Service is of specific importance. Such a coordination is necessary foremost for the solution of the basic issue that is for the lasting stability and consolidation of revolutionary sovereignty. Furthermore, the creation of coordination will provide the opportunity that other local issues will also be settled in a better manner. To ensure this end, headquarters have been established in the zones and provinces. The composition of the headquarters include heads of the above mentioned departments. Of course, the headquarters do not replace the local state and party organs but will help in the planned and purposeful activities of these organs and will guide them

in the solution of the undelayable and important tasks.

The sessions of these headquarters should be held regularly. The number of sessions should not be the important factor but it is the effectiveness of these sessions which is important. The sessions of the headquarters can be held at the request of one of its members in case when an issue requires the joint coordinated action. The work of the headquarters should be guided by the chief of the HQ or by the head of the local organ of state power.

Of course they are responsible to get the approval of the party committees for all their actions. The life teaches that such HQs should be created in counties and sub-counties and should be changed into a school of joint and friendly work on which all have agreed. The defence and justice commission of the PDPA CC has the duty to prepare the regulations of the Headquarters and to present it to the Politburo of the party.

Counties and sub-counties constitute important links in the system of the local organs of state power and administration. This results from the fact that these organs are the most numerous parts of the state apparatus, and work in the depth of the masses and are considered as the joining links of the center with localities, and implements the mutual relation of the general state policy with the interests of localities. The department of local organs of state power and administration, the organization department of the PDPA CC, provincial party committees, and the provincial governors should pay utmost attention to the filling up of local organs in the counties and sub-counties with cadres who are loyal to the revolution and should render specific and timely and effective assistance to the comrades who work in the counties and sub-counties. The role of the Department of Local Organs of State Power and Administration should be promoted in the center and at the lower levels.

3. The complete victory of our revolution without the active support of the majority of the people is impossible. The peasants form the majority of the people. The revolutionary government should exist in the villages directly, and the peasant masses should be mobilized for the improvement of their own life.

The traditional representatives of the government in the villages is the Qaryadar (village chief) who is elected by the people. At the present, the purpose is that the state authorities in the counties and sub-counties should make urgent efforts

to appoint qaryadar in the villages. It is necessary to establish the relations with these Qaryadars, and their authority should be recognized in due time. The Qaryadar should be rendered active, special and interested assistance in the solution of the undelayable issues. It is necessary that the leadership of the counties and sub-counties must not permit that the village power be usurped by the feudals, counter-revolutionaries or their agents. The organs of state power in the provinces, counties and sub-counties should make use of the traditional methods of self-governing in the interests of the normalization of relations and the strengthening of the state influence in the localities.

Revolutionary sovereignty must appear in normal and tangible form to the people. The Revolutionary Council must study the issue deeply and should take specific legal steps. All issues related to the creation and consolidation of revolutionary sovereignty in the localities must be dealt with due consideration and calculation of the local characteristics and traditions.

Moreover, it is necessary to work more deeply and systematically in the areas where tribal people reside. Create and effective programmes of cooperation and development, based on the principle of mutual benefit. The basic principles of our policy in this regard have been worked out in the form of a plan of action of the party, decisions and resolutions of the plenum of the PDPA CC and in a number of other documents of the government. This policy should be implemented on the basis of the experience gained and the legitimate demands of the other side. We believe that the interests of revolutionary power and the interests of tribes cannot disagree. As a principle, we accept the traditional way of tribal life, the administration of tribal affairs and the participation of the tribes in the defence of the independence of the country and pay them tribute. But it should be stated that today all the tribes and patriots of the country share the interest of the defence of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and the economic progress of the homeland and the improvement of the living conditions of the people. In our opinion, the only natural basis for having relations with the tribes is their loyalty to the country, the defence of the frontiers and sincere cooperation with the revolutionary sovereignty. We see their participation in these relations in this context.

The government of the DRA will continue its material and moral assistance be-

nesses too for the improvement of the life of the tribes, ensuring them from the viewpoint of necessary goods and commodities, rendering them technical, medical, veterinarian help and the creating of conditions for educating their children and youth in the institutes of the intermediate and higher learning of the DRA and abroad.

We have resolved, in the interest of the better utilization of the existing resources, to render the economic assistance to the tribes, to coordinate the efforts and measures of all ministries and state organs in localities and to create basic improvement in the localities. It is necessary to decisively approve the work of the PDPA CC Commission for coordinating work with the tribes. In my view, the time has come to assign specific monetary and financial allocations be made for the solution of economic issues in tribal areas.

On the political arena, it would be useful to give legal power to the agreements which are to be signed with tribes, and the obligations of the state and those of the tribes for safeguarding the state frontiers must be taken into consideration in these agreements. It is necessary to widely attract the elders and dignitaries of the tribes to the work of the local state organs, and should be recognized as official status and should be given regular salaries from the state budget. In our opinion, their most prestigious and most prominent members should be included in the composition of the Revolutionary Council and in the composition of the National Fatherland Front.

I think that in coming two years that in 1984 the formation of tribal districts as well as preparation for the High Jirgah with the participation of tribal leaders will be possible. All these measures will provide the opportunity to establish the issues related to the relations between the tribes and revolutionary sovereignty on a sound basis and to ensure their mutually beneficial solution.

Comrades, The entire work for the stabilization of the state power in the localities must be relied upon the people and the attraction of the elders, dignitaries, clergy and respectable, patriotic, prominent and deserving individuals. In solving some administrative issues, we are sometimes afraid to use the tradition and order which the people are accustomed to and the methods which the people themselves have worked

out in the past. In the meantime it must be remembered that revolutionary time is not a slave to the past traditions. Relying on the good traditions, the party fills the very traditions with new content. What do we mean by this?

The purpose is to make use of the traditional methods of organising life and state power in the localities and to arrange it in such a manner as to cope with the needs of the revolution so that it may assist the solution of the problems that exist. This is also one of the most important duties of the party committees in the counties, sub-counties and the party organizations in the villages. This must be carried out with steadfastness and perseverance. This task should be carried out with patience and without the use of dry administrative measures and the nature of the measures taken must be explained to the peasants. Some times ago, the Politburo of the CC of the PDPA approved a resolution on the promotion of the role and further consolidation of the county and sub-county party committees. In this resolution provides for a number of measures for these links so that they may be able to consolidate revolutionary sovereignty in the localities, and to expand and deepen its relations with the masses. During the execution of these duties, the party committees must play the role of leadership and assist the representatives of the government and to rectify their actions.

In all these events the role of publicity is very great. Now I do not speak of the entire problems which face PDPA in this connection. As you know the ninth plenum of the PDPA CC evaluated in detail the ideological and propaganda work of the party as a whole, and took necessary decisions in this connection. But I can be clearly stated that the execution of these decisions have not been satisfactory in connection with the requirement of the country.

Vast masses of the people in the rural areas still do not get enough information about the true contents of our decisions and measures. Ideologic organs of the party must put into practice the duties entrusted to them by the ninth plenum. The most important and undelayable tasks in this connection have been outlined in the document in your possession.

We must state that the various forms of the ideological work must be directed at the vast masses and they must be

helped to understand the situation and to be converted into conscientious and active participants of the revolutionary process. The main task here is to directly work with the people and have face to face talks between party and government officials at all levels with the people and carry out indefatigable explanatory and publicity work in all localities. The living, explicit and correct words of the party must be raised every where, perpetually and effectively. Unless this is realized, we will not be able to capture the hearts and the heads of the people.

In this connection social popular organizations play great and responsible role. During the time that has elapsed the trade unions, Democratic organization of Afghan Youth, Democratic Organization of Afghan Women, Cooperatives, Unions of creative intellectuals etc. have all expanded and consolidated. The National Fatherland Front as the united organized system of these organizations and as the widest mass organizations has been created and is growing. Expressing my satisfaction for the work that has been made. I would like to speak on two principal issues:

1. Mass organizations are the inseparable part of the political system of our country. In the final analysis the basic duty of these organizations is the consolidation of the very political system through related means. What does our word mean specifically? It means that social mass organizations must live in accordance with the interest of the people and work among the people, enlighten the people politically and mobilize them for the development and defence of the revolution. The activities of these organizations must be directed at the expansion of the economic and cultural revolution, the isolation and extermination of counter-revolution, the reconstruction and improvement of the work of economic organizations, further consolidation of the unity of the party and strengthening of the revolutionary sovereignty of the toilers of the country.

If we correctly assess the activities of social organizations from this single point of view, I should admit that the majority of them have not begun these duties and as a whole they have not released themselves from their organizational framework. While it is the time that these organizations must with greater courage and effectiveness, promote their role in the society and in the consolidation of the revolutionary political system.

2. The forces of social organization are influenced by the party and are guided by the party. This fact ensures the correct direction of the actions adopted by the social organizations and creates coordination between them. I once again state that only the existence of the social organizations is not sufficient, but it is necessary that these organizations should work together, and should be tied to each other. Just like the fingers of one hand.

Party committees and organizations must always be aware of the activities of the trade Unions, Democratic Organizations of Afghan Youth and Women, the National Fatherland Front and must ask the party members who work in these organizations to observe the situation and activities.

Comrades, the problems of the economic growth has been the focal point of attention of the party and revolutionary power of the capital. The previous plenum, that is the fifth plenum of the CC was wholly dedicated to this issue and now party committees and organizations have started the execution of these decisions. The life is a witness that the duties outlined are all realistic and practical. For instance if the plan is correctly implemented, electric energy production will see rise of 33%, natural gas 10%, wool production 11%, wool textiles 8% and production of wheat flour 38% over those of the year 1977. This year the agricultural campaign has been successfully completed, and better harvest than previous years is hoped for.

It is our duty that party committees and local organs of state power, all ministries, and government organizations, we as social organizations must pave the ground for orderly and friendly work of the toilers and ensure the execution of the tasks and achievement of the objectives unconditionally.

I take this opportunity and on behalf of the Politburo of the Central Committee, I thank all the heads of ministries, organizations and provinces who have devised and implemented effective measures and actions for the effective use of productive forces and ensured the uninterrupted work of the organizations and institutions dealing with production of energy, irrigation, transport and communication.

In the mean time it cannot be left unstated that in some provinces delays are made in the device and implementation of specific plans for the realization of the decisions

of the plenum. It is very important to make full use of the local resources. Without waiting for instruction initiative and steadfastness must be shown in the reconstruction of organizations which have been destroyed and in completion of the work of projects already started.

Greater attention should be paid to various forms of cooperation of private and important means of rendering the economic life in localities more active. The Politbureau has specifically emphasized this aspect in this connection for the practical implementation of which party committees, organs of the state power and social organizations must carry out more serious work.

It is necessary to work for the attraction of private capital and the creation of practical and useful cooperation so that the duties placed by the state must be carried out successfully. In a short time, special legislative and other measures should be adopted for the attraction of private sector and their contribution in the growth of the economy of the country.

I have to specifically mention the attraction of transporting goods and commodities to the provinces and counties. This is an important and vital issue but we carry out the above work slowly and with difficulty. There is only one way: The armed forces, the police force and the State Information Service must make an effective action of transportation convoys and facilities. They should include their own vehicles in the transport of important goods and cargo and should prepare and put in practice monthly transportation plan.

Now we discuss a very important issue, namely the land and water reforms. We say great attention to this point, we speak a great deal about it. It is sad to say very unsatisfactorily. There are a number of subjective and objective factors involved. Without going to the details, I would like to say that in the coming 25 months legal documents will come into existence and the practice of realization of land reforms will be profoundly scrutinized and necessary changes will be brought in them. But the main question is the same and it is the interest of the toiling peasant masses in the embodiment of laws and judiciary documents related to land and water reforms, which must be seriously ensured during the execution of them.

The anti-fundamental attitude of the land reforms must be expressed more clearly and explicitly, and must be implemented in practice with greater persanacy.

Similarly the monetary aspect of the issue must be altered from the root. For instance at present the farmer who owns 21 to 25 jirabs of land, wants to register his ownership right and obtain the land ownership documents, must pay about 20 thousand Afghanis. This part has been copied from the past laws which must be changed in the interest of the toiling peasants.

In general we should make sure that the methods, procedures and all mechanisms of land reform comply with its democratic nature, they must be tangible to the farmers and peasants and should encompass the specific conditions of the provinces. The secretariat of the PDPA CC must establish serious and close contact with the ministries and organisations which share this work.

Comrades, we carry out our unyieldable tasks in the field of economic and cultural construction under very difficult and complicated circumstances.

During the time that has elapsed since the convocation of the country-wide conference of the PDPA, imperialism and regional reaction have increased their pressures on our frontiers, and have intensified their interventions in the internal affairs of the country. A number of the citizens of the country, due to the fear of counter-revolutionaries and still living in distrust, do not continue their support of the counter-revolutionary elements. Because of this the sphere of activities of the party ranks and the revolutionary sovereignty in some of the counties is temporarily limited.

Under such circumstances the party, the government of the DRA and all the patriots of the country are obliged to direct their attention to the consolidation of the armed forces.

The defence of the revolution and the country is our sacred duty. Under the conditions of the undeclared war imposed on us, serving in the armed forces, and assistance to it, is the duty of all party and state organisations and social organisations of the country and the duty of each and every patriot of the country. The best sons of the homeland must serve in the armed forces and must take part in the defence of the national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity and revolutionary transformations.

We have achieved important victories in the defence of the homeland and consolidation of the armed forces. The soldiers and officers of the armed forces, the police and KHAD (State Information Services) have dealt strong blows to

the armed counter-revolutionary bands and the agents of imperialism and reaction which have infiltrated from abroad. During the past five months great many of the rebels have been crushed, great quantities of weapons have been captured and great number of their bases have been annihilated.

At the present there exists no armed band which could be called as a large band of the enemy. Our armed forces are equipped with all implements needed for the execution of their duties. Their organisational affairs have improved their combat ability, and their fire strength and technical preparedness have grown. Our commanders and officers have gained necessary experience and have been tempered. Our crowd of political workers convey the facts, the words of our party to the masses of soldiers and strengthen the links of the armed forces, the police force and KHAD with the toilers and patriots of the country. The large and unprecedented assistance of the powerful Soviet Union, our friend and brother is witnessed in all our victories.

Now permit me to speak about a number of key issues in the military structure and foremost those issues which are common to all sectors of the armed forces.

The question of strengthening the party leadership role in the armed forces, raising the combat ability of the armed forces, the police and KHAD in the struggle against the counter revolutionaries, have been the center of our attention. The PDPA CC. We rely on the following statement of the leader of the world proletariat:

"Just like other institutions, the policy of military administration is implemented on the basis of the general directives and instructions issued by the party and its central committee and are directly controlled by it". The precise pursuance of the party's general policy is the only correct way to defend the beloved country. The ministries of defence and interior and the department of State Information Services, provincial party committee and local organs of state power must adopt all-sided measures for the unconditional execution of the policy of the party for the consolidation of the armed forces.

In this connection, I would like to make it clear that sound and rational relations of mutual respect and retrospective combat action should be created between the military departments and organisations and all types of military ranks, between the armed forces, the police force and the KHAD as well

as between them and the military units of the patriots which have been newly created in our country. This is very important. For as not only the strengthening of the armed forces is necessary but the question of creating precise coordination of action and mutual cooperation between them is also very important from the operation point of view and from the general political point of view. A reliable defence of the country can be created only on the basis of organic link of the people and the armed forces which has been influenced and joined by the party. The specific measures that have been devised by the political bureau for the current year and a copy of which you have with you, must also be dealt with in the same manner. As you can see this system includes a wide spectrum of measures for recruitment and enlistment in the armed forces and in the police force, improvement of the material foundation, strengthening of frontier forces, strengthening of the security of economic institutions and foremost the security of the Afghan-Soviet cooperation institutes which form the key institutes of the economy as well as raising the level of combat ability of the military units of the patriots.

The fostering of political, party and educative work among the staff of the armed forces plays important role in the activities for consolidating the armed forces. It is necessary to ensure perpetual political maturing of the soldiers and officers, their loyalty to the use of revolution and their valor and steadfastness in war. This work constitutes the main direction of the activities of the political organs and party organisations in the armed forces. Therefore greater attention should be paid to the strengthening of the party organisations and the attraction of greater number of soldiers and cadres to the ranks of the party. Because even now their number in the party is small. It must not be forgotten that the strengthening of party and political work is the main factor of discipline and combat preparedness.

Political organs and party organisations of the armed forces must show greater initiative in strengthening relations with local party organisations. In the mean time, party organisations, local state organs and social organisations have the duty to organize and expand wide political and organisational work for imparting patriotic military training to the youth and preparing them for service in the ranks of the armed forces. It should be stated that at the present there has been no satisfactory pro-

gress in this connection. The special plan drafted for this purpose and aimed at the coordination of efforts of state, party and social organisations in this regard is being implemented very slowly. This state of affairs must be ended. The basic interests of our people and their desire for ceasing bloodshed and establishing a lasting peace requires the further consolidation of the armed forces. At the present we are closely approaching this end. Hundreds of armed groups who in the past were engaged in fratricidal war and had taken their trenches with the enemy, have now laid down their arms, have started dialogues with revolutionary power and are returning to peaceful work and the construction of the society. In many instances they, after realizing the truth and justice of our party, revolution and state, and realising the futility of resistance, have joined the ranks of the armed forces and are compensating their past labours. Under the circumstances that the superiority of our armed forces and our inevitable victory is clear for every body who has eyes, I consider it necessary to state the following points:

First of all the consolidation of our armed forces is necessary to convey the meaning that we have resolved to rely on military force in the future. It is not so at the end of the victory of revolution on overthrowing counter-revolution can be achieved by the coordination and rational use of the various forms of methods of political and violent means by the revolutionary power. We resolutely support the peaceful method of the normalisation of the situation. The thought of nation-wide peace and security all over Afghanistan which has been reiterated at the nationwide conference of our party, is a witness to this claim of ours. This thought is based on the invitation to the ruling of bloodshed and refraining from the use of weapons during the settlement of the existing disputes. Our action is also a testimony to our claim: Declaration of amnesty for those who have abandoned armed struggle against the homeland and the country, human treatment of those who have been drawn to this struggle by force, threat, intimidation or deception of the counter-revolution.

Finally, in the future we have too preference to the many agreements and accords reached with the ex-heads of the armed groups. These accords have always been observed by our revolutionary power showing the final victory of right and justice over wrong and lie.

But the point is that the selection of ways, methods and means of struggle for the normalisation of situation and assurance of full peace is not up to us alone. If the hostile forces impose war on us we should accept this challenge and should emerge victorious in this war.

The main aim behind our military build-up is to confidently defend our independence and the territorial integrity of our beloved homeland. All the measures adopted for the consolidation of the armed forces are directed at this point. These measures are compulsory and are a response to the undeclared war and broad and organised interference in our internal affairs.

Now there is nothing more to be feared in the world than the defence of peace. This is of the greatest value for all humanity and in the last analysis for preservation of the life on our planet.

It is for this completely lawful cause that in these days anti-war movement and struggle against the unlogical aggressive policy of imperialism have been expanded in all continents and countries and have attracted hundreds of millions of people. In front of this struggle for peace stands the community of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. As you know the shining manifestation of the determination for ensuring peace in our globe was the World Assembly for Peace and Life which was held in Prague. The delegation of the DRA which was a big one as far as its composition and number played its worthy role in this assembly in the common struggle for peace.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as a sovereign and non-aligned country will follow active policy of peace and consolidation and growth of international cooperation in the future. We have consolidated our friendship and fraternal relations with all progressive forces of the world and will do so in the future too.

We must not with righteous honour and pride that our revolution and the DRA Government enjoy ever increasing support and recognition in the international arena. Only during the past year we see groups. These accords have always been observed by our revolutionary power showing the final victory of right and justice over wrong and lie.

diplomatic relations with almost 70 countries. Likewise, the international relations of the party have expanded with almost 50 communist workers' and revolutionaries, democratic parties, national liberation movements and organisations. We are prepared to establish and develop relations and mutually useful co-operations, based on equal rights, with all countries regardless of their social and political system. This stand is also true with regard to the neighbouring countries Pakistan, Iran and China. But unfortunately active use from these countries for armed aggression against our revolutionary country and flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of our country are continuing.

The organising and inspiring force behind the main part of the declared war against our people and DRA Government is the United States of America. The Reagan administration has practically escalated its shameful intervention in the internal affairs of our country at state policy level.

These events and other negative events are seriously aggravating the situation around Afghanistan in the region as whole. We have profound conviction that the real way for the solution of the situation around Afghanistan is shown in the peace proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan dated 26, 1959 (May 14, 1959) and Submulla 2, 1960 (August 24, 1961).

Times has demonstrated the urgency and reality of these proposals. We have repeatedly said and repeat again that there is no other alternative for the solution of all problems except that at the negotiation round table.

The most important way for the solution of the issues related to the situation around Afghanistan and maintaining of peace and security in the region is holding of serious and practical talks with the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. As far as it concerns us we are prepared for this and we have necessary political decisiveness and the goodwill required in this connection.

Comrades, The main task of our plan is to work out and endorse measures for solving the undelayable economic, political, social and defensive problems on the basis of profound analysis and serious discussion and allied and practical study of the complex plan. In this analysis this complex plan embodies all affairs concerning normalisation of

situation and ensuring of the nationwide peace and security in the country. The implementation of this plan is the sacred duty of all party committees and organisations. Council of Ministers, ministries, departments and state power organs in localities in the country. It is very important to organise friendly and joint work because the co-operation of party and state in the daily work can only implement the plan as a whole.

Party committees are dutybound to exercise serious and strong control over the execution of this plan and make principal investigation from those who act without initiative and achieve no specific and tangible results in their area.

The main point is to concentrate almost attention to the dynamic organisation of work. Our party and state organs mostly adopt very important decisions but we could not have fully organised men to implement them unconditionally and we could not have established control over the execution of these decisions. This state of affairs makes us obliged to always improve and complete our work methods and activity and learn the principle of better working, revolutionary work and specific working.

Comrades, Permit me to wish you all success in performing your high and responsible jobs.

Despite difficulties our party forces ahead.

We triumph.

RESOLUTION OF THE 12th

PDPA PLENUM

KNT 7/7/83

Following is the resolution of the 12th plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan on the situation in the country and the outstanding tasks of the party and state power.

Dated: Samtara, 15.1961 (July 3, 1983)

The plenum of the Central Committee of the PDPA heard and studied the report of Comrade Babrak Karmal and wholly reaffirmed its position and conclusions and invites the party and the people to take them into consideration as a guideline for their action and put them into effect for the growth and development of the revolution, prosperity and blossoming of our beloved homeland.

The plenum points out with satisfaction that the PDPA and the DRA Government, despite difficulties and obstacles created by the destructive agents of counter-revolution and international reaction, have achieved more victories after the convening of the countrywide conference of the party with the active participation and support of masses of people in normalising the situation in the country. As a leading force of the society, the PDPA is growing and getting consolidated. Its unity and ties with the people are increasing.

Under the leadership of the PDPA, our new political revolutionary system which includes broad social organisations, that is, the National Fatherland Front, trade unions, Democratic Youth Organisation, Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan, cooperative unions and the like, is functioning consistently. The work of state power organs both in the capital and the localities is performed more effectively and more fruitfully. Party committees, state organs and social organisations are more vigorously and specifically carrying out the economic rehabilitation tasks, implementation of productive project and management of transportation and the like in a better manner. Their responsibilities are enhancing for the performance of planned duties. As a result of the strive made by the party, the state and the people, the threat of breakdown of the economy has been removed. Despite great difficulties, the definite level of industrial and agricultural production has been preserved and the public needs fulfilled. The selfless economic assistance and co-operations of the Soviet Union, this great and united friend of ours, help us in a great scale.

Counter-revolution and international reaction could not change the process of the development of Afghanistan towards progress which has been achieved since the victory of the Saur Revolution. Our party and revolutionary government have been persistently working for the consolidation of the achieved victories, consolidation of the armed forces, attraction of patriotic masses in defence of the revolution and strengthening of revolutionary sovereignty in the localities.

At present, the plenum considers that there is a need for the concentration of the efforts of the party, state power organs and all mass social organisations for the solution of the undelayable issues lying before the people and the homeland and for the removal of shortcomings and

defects which do exist in the party, state, economic and military structures and in the methods and style of our work. The plenum points out that there still exist some extent evidence of lack of harmony in the party ranks, signs of unreasonable and fountless distrust and dis cooperation.

Some party committees still ignore the facts which reveal the unwillingness and incapability of certain party members in connection with the common and friendly organisational work for the realisation of the party policy, decisions and resolutions of the countrywide conference of the party and plenums of the Central Committee of the PDPA.

The political work of the party, particularly its publicity work among the masses, is not in compliance with the present demands. Most of the party and social organisations, leading employees of the party and state organs like in the past do not pay necessary attention to the consolidation of the ties between the party and the masses and show no activeness in this connection.

The situation in some of the regions of the country still remains tense. The party committees and state power organs could not fully completed the task aimed at the defeat of armed counter-revolution. They could not have ensured peaceful conditions and security for the inhabitants.

Issues pertaining to the establishment of state power organs in villages have not been practically solved from the legal and organisational point of view. It is because of this fact that the daily contacts between the leading party and state organs with the great majority of the people have not achieved an adequate and endurable character. The party influence in solving the undelayable economic problems is still weak.

The party committees, party organisations of various ministries and departments, and social organisations have unactively treated the solution of economic problems and have shown unnecessary inactiveness in realisation of the resolutions of the 11th plenum of the CC of the PDPA and the measures which have been adopted for the revival and growth of production and improvement of the lot of the people.

The combat operations of the party and state and the organisational task for creation and consolidation of a confident defence system of the revolution and the homeland, call for decisive involvement and further consolidation of the army, police and State Infor-

mation Services. Serious shortcomings still exist in the work of political training among the members of armed forces and consolidation of ties and mutual cooperation between them and masses of people, defence revolutionary groups and defence groups. Regional troops of the army are not fully attracted towards the defence of the revolution and the homeland.

Shortcomings and defects in our work are the results of the low level of investigation and demand of the cultural and organisational tasks entrusted by the party committees and Central Committee's offices. There have been poor management and discipline in party organisations. Noncritical treatment with regard to the evaluation of the results of activities carried out is still continuing. Like in the past, Lack of punishment in cases of violation of the norms of party life which is the cause of party unity and also in cases of lack of activity is still witnessed.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the PDPA approves that:

1. The report and conclusions of the session of Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the PDPA should be assumed as milestone of action and carried out without any conditions.

All party committees and party organisations, ministries and local party organs are obliged to prepare programs for the implementation of work plan in connection with improvement of organisational and political work of the party and state power which are totally based on the provision of the report of Comrade Babrak Karmal. The plan of action is approved (Appendix).

2. The effort and attention of all party, DRA government, mass social organisations and local party and state organs should be directed at normalisation of situation in the country in the shortest possible period.

For this purpose:—Work should be persistently continued for further consolidation of the party unity and discipline within the ranks of the party and enhancement of the party's leading role in the society and the state.

—The policy designed for the consolidation of the state power organs, both in the capital and the localities should be carried on purposefully. The activity of the state apparatus should always be completed and proper facilities be provided so as to co-act in an increased manner, with the need of the state machinery and the state machinery should be consolidated with the cadres loyal to the revolution and

feudal and bureaucratic traditions and customs should be done away with.

—Continuing growth of the influence and control of party over the activity of the state apparatus and state power organs should be ensured in the localities.

—Special attention should be paid to the establishment of state power in villages and effective help should be rendered to their worthy representatives.

—In order to draw the worthy representatives of tribes, nationalities and clans to the state power organs, continuing and persistent work should be carried out.

—The role and responsibility of party committees and party and social organisations and state organs should be enhanced for the solution of drastic and urgent tasks of the revival and growth of industrial and agricultural productions, and implementation of transportation, communications, social and cultural projects. Greater use should be made of economic resources and possibilities existing in the localities.

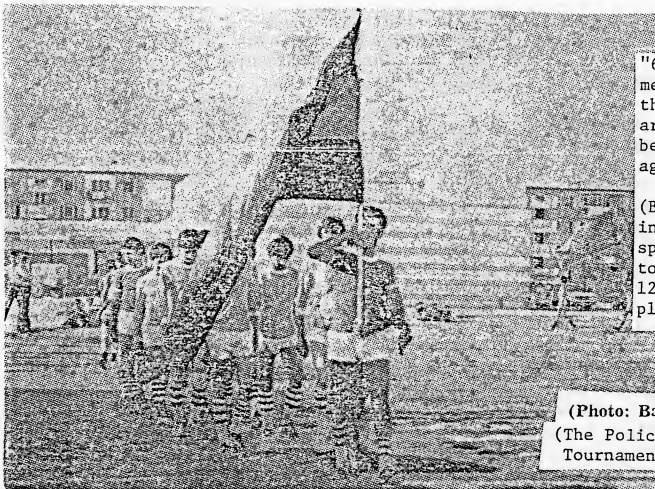
—The armed forces should be consolidated as a confident buffer and efforts should be made that the armed forces should cope, to a full extent, with their high aims.

—The status and authority of the defenders of the homeland should be promoted and their organic and living ties should be consolidated with the people. Issues pertaining to the defensive work and patriotic military training of youth should always be placed at the focal point of attention and activity of party committees and organisations.

3. The activity of the Central Committee of the PDPA and the DRA government in the arena of foreign policy is confirmed. Persistent and purposeful struggle should be carried on in the future for maintaining confident peaceful conditions for the realisation of the aims and duties of the Saur Revolution, for normalisation of the situation around Afghanistan through peaceful and political means based on policy of peaceful co-existence, non-alignment and good-neighbourliness.

The Central Committee of the PDPA is fully confident that the party and the people will further press their lines around the Central Committee and the DRA government and will explore all possibilities to put the decisions and the resolutions of the plenum into practice.

Babrak Karmal,
General Secretary of the PDPA CC.



"65% of the members of the party are at or below the age of 30."

(Babrak in his speech to the 12th plenum.)

(Photo: Bakhtar)
(The Police Trophy Tournament 7/28)

A scene of the parade performed by the pioneers before opening the tournament.



The youth of the country realising the righteousness of the Saur national and democratic revolution are joining the ranks of the armed forces with every passing day and are dealing crushing blows to the counter-revolution exported from abroad. 7/31 (no photo credit given!)



8th plenum of the DYOA central committee.

(Photo: Bakhtar)

8/6 - Moh'd Rafiq, an Afridi, was released from prison on 8/4 at the request of Afridi tribesmen who promised to cooperate with the DRA Gov't.

- Kabul Nendari plans to stage 6 plays this year. "The number of artistic actors of the Afghan Nendari reaches a total of 20. This many number of actors can hardly meet the needs & tastes of our arts-loving people." Hence, 50 more actors are being trained.

8/7 - Severe floods "from the rapid falls of Paghman Valley...and the Maidan Shahr of Wardak Province" destroyed houses and damaged farm lands & orchards on 8/5. The Kabul-Paghman highway was washed out, a dam near Qalar Malik was destroyed and parts of Kabul were flooded.

8/9 - Bakhtar Afghan Airlines has carried 19,000 passengers since 3/21/83. Bakhtar has 6 Antonov aircraft, 2 Yak 40s & 2 Twin Otters.

8/10 - Ariana technicians repaired the Boeing 727. "The repair & maintenance work carried out by Afghan engineers at international standard has saved Ariana Afghan Airlines about \$60,000." The weekend schedule is as follows:

Friday and Saturday Airlines programme:

Ariana Afghan Airlines Boeing 727 will depart Kabul for Tashkent and Moscow tomorrow (Friday) at 9:00— a.m. and will return to Kabul at 10:00— a.m. Saturday.

Ariana Afghan Airlines DC-10 will leave Kabul for Delhi tomorrow (Saturday) at 11:00— a.m. and will come back at 8:00— a.m. morning similarly Boeing 727 will depart Kabul for Amritsar tomorrow (Saturday) at 10:30— a.m. and will return to Kabul at 3:30— Sunday morning.

8/13 - Afghan Hajis will receive help with Haj expenses from the DRA. Expenses are Afs. 87,117 but each Hajji will pay only Afs. 60,000. This-year pilgrims will not have to pay the Afs. 6,000 "service commission" to the Islamic Affairs Dept. nor make the customary Afs. 1,000 donation to the Red Crescent Society.

KABUL, August 4 (Bakhtar)— The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of DRA in accordance with the provision of Article 44 of the DRA's Fundamental Principles with regard to the amendment number No 3 of the Military Service Law approves:

Article one: Article 53 of the military service law has been amended as follows:

Deferment from the military service for the purpose of continuation of training would be granted to the following persons under recruitment:

1/ To the students of the institutions of higher education until the end of education period and two years after the completion period of their education provided that the graduates qualified under the conditions of recruitment for military service perform duties in the important fields of national economy on the basis of urgent requirement and on the basis of their field of specialization for the period of two years in accordance with the assignment made by the Ministries and the related Departments, in the enterprises and government institutions serving in the provinces.

Persons who for failure in the school or for the breach of discipline remain for two consecutive years in the same class and those who upon completion of education refuse to perform their duties in the provinces or change their duties optionally or become discharged of their duties shall be deprived from the right of deferment and shall be recruited for performing their military service.

2/ For the students of the institutions of intermediate vocational education until the end of their education period and for two years beyond the period of completion of their education, provided that the graduates are qualified for recruitment serve their duties for two years on the basis of distribution in the enterprises and institutions of state sector in accordance with their line of specialization.

Students who have reached the age of recruitment for military service and because of failure or because of breach or discipline remain for two years in the same class to receive training and similarly the graduates who upon the completion of the period of education refuse to take charge of duties that are assigned to them in accordance with distribution or if they optionally change their duties or if they are dis-

charged of their duties shall be deprived from the right of deferment and shall be recruited in the army for performing military service.

3/ For the students of vocational and technical schools until the end period of education and for two years beyond the period of education provided that the graduates of such schools discharge their duties for two years on the basis of specialization and distribution made by the Ministries and the related departments and the enterprises of the state sector.

If they refuse to perform the related duties or change or abandon their duties optionally they shall be deprived of their right of deferment and shall be recruited for military service.

4/ The students of the general intermediate education until the end period of their education.

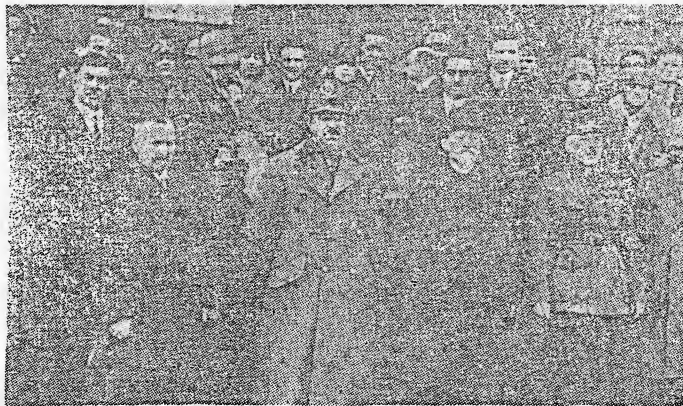
The students qualified for recruitment and for military service who remain two years in one class for reasons of failure or for breach of discipline shall be deprived from the right of deferment and shall be recruited for compulsory military service in the case of promulgation of this decree in the country the persons listed under the articles 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Article number one of this decree can be drafted in the army before the end of their period of education.

The graduates of the 12th class who have reached the age of recruitment and military service shall be recruited for military service. However, after completion of military service they can be admitted to the institutions of higher education without attending the university entrance examination.

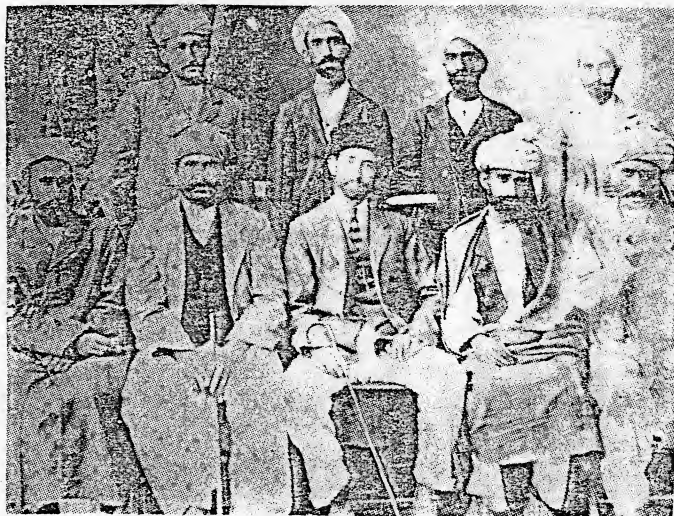
Persons who have reached the age of compulsory military service and are being graduated from the institutions of general intermediate education and those who for the purpose of being admitted to the institutions of higher education in the fields of requirement of the national economy are registered for university entrance examination shall be granted deferment from the military service for the period of examination. The persons under recruitment who could not successfully pass the entrance exams and would not be admitted to the institutions of higher education shall be recruited for performing their military service.

Article 2/ The amendment number 3 of the military service law shall be effective as of the date of approval and should be promulgated in the official gazette.

Babrak Karmal President of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of DRA.



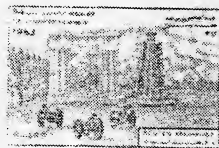
Amir Amanullah Khan and the high-ranking state authorities of the Soviet Union during his visit to Moscow. In this picture in addition to Amanullah Khan M. A. Kalnin and Vrochelov are seen. KNT 8/18



A group of Afghan constitutionalists. KNT 8/18

Independence Day was "highly celebrated" in Kabul on August 19. What went on in the provinces was not reported but On the occasion of this auspicious day of anniversary the daily newspapers in their latest issues produced in the capital and in the provinces have published the photos of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council of DRA and that of the late Majesty King Amanullah Khan Ghazi during whose reign our heroic people achieved the national independence and likewise published the photos of a number of heroes of the path of national independence and those of historical monuments and took part in celebrating this day through their publishing of editorials and articles on the occasion. The Radio and Television of DRA also celebrated the 64th vrsary of national independence of the country through their propagation of special and variety of programs. KNT 8/120

Photos & part of Babrak's address appear on the next page.



KABUL, August 18 (Bakhtar)—The Ministry of Communications has printed a new postal stamp on the eve of the 64th anniversary of the Independence of Afghanistan.

The new postal stamp is of the denomination of six Afghamis

A SUBSCRIPTION TO THE NEWSLETTER WOULD MAKE A NICE ANNIVERSARY PRESENT

64th anniversary of Afghanistan's independence

Today August 19 is an important day in the political history of Afghanistan. It marks the 64th anniversary of regaining of the independence of our country.

64 years ago the heroic and gallant people of Afghanistan under the leadership of the progressive-minded monarch Amir Amanullah Khan launched a freedom liberation movement against the mighty power of the world, the British colonialism. No doubt, with the regaining of independence a new chapter was opened in the history of Afghanistan.

The regaining of the independence of Afghanistan was in effect the product of the unity and patriotism of the various tribes and nationalities living in this country.

By nature, it should be pointed out, Afghans are freedom-loving people who cannot tolerate the domination of colonialism and imperialism. It was this nature of the people of Afghanistan which made the British colonial power bow before the legitimate demand and stiff resistance of the brave and heroic people of this ancient country.

The staunch and stiff resistance put up by the heroic people of Afghanistan against the British domination encouraged the freedom movement in the subcontinent of India. The lesson which the people of Afghanistan taught the Britishers led the people of the region to rise up against the policy of British aggression.

Although the British colonialism after the declaration of the independence of Afghanistan by the progressive King Amanullah mobilised more than 100,000 soldiers equipped with all modern combat facilities against the newly independent Afghanistan in a bid to bring to failure the struggles of the heroic people of Afghanistan, it did not succeed in implementing its colonialistic and aggressive policy which it was following against the interests of the people of Afghanistan.

The political position of the newly independent Afghanistan was further consolidated when the newly established rule of workers in young Soviet Russia extended its official recognition to the independence of Afghanistan. In fact the Soviet Union

was the first country which not only officially recognised the independence of Afghanistan but also started to extend all possible economic and military assistance to Afghanistan. King Amanullah who is considered as the saviour of the independence of Afghanistan in the history of this country, was the first Afghan sovereign who recognised the young Soviet state emerged after the October Socialist Revolution. King Amanullah stretched friendship hands towards the founder of the Socialist regime in Russia and the leader of the world leaders V. I. Lenin.

Thus the diplomatic relations between the two countries stem from the good wishes and sincere willingness of the progressive King Amanullah and Lenin the great and the toiling peoples of the two countries. Lenin attached great importance and value to the independence of Afghanistan and was a great friend of the people of this country.

The heroic demand by the people of Afghanistan against the British colonial power was received with all appreciation and praise in the young Soviet Russia. The Soviet Union spared no material and moral support to the people of Afghanistan during the long standing friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Like the regaining of independence of Afghanistan which opened a new chapter in the history of Afghanistan, the victory of the glorious Saur Revolution also recorded the most important turning point in the history of the life of the working class and the entire people of Afghanistan.

While we celebrate the 64th anniversary of the regaining of independence from the clutch of the British colonialism it is hoped that under the progressive regime set up after the Saur Revolution further strides will be made towards the socio-economic and cultural development so as the people of our country can enjoy a better and higher standard of living and struggle further for achieving the targets set for the construction of the new society.

We take this opportunity and congratulate the heroic people of Afghanistan on this occasion and wish them further successes in their strides.

Following is the text of the message of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan broadcast over Radio-TV on the occasion of the 64th anniversary of the regaining of independence of the country.

Noble compatriots and dear sisters and brothers, Permit me to present to you the greetings and congratulations of the Central Committee of the PDPA, Revolutionary Council and Government of the DRA and that of my own on the occasion of 64th anniversary of the pridesful and pridesgiving anniversary of the regaining the political independence of Afghanistan which was achieved as a result of the 1919 armed uprising of the people of Afghanistan against the most powerful colonial state of the time, i.e. British imperialism.

The independence of our beloved country which broke one of links of the chain of imperialist dependency in this part of the world is not only considered as a great event in the historical destiny of the peoples of Afghanistan but also influenced a great deal the awakening of Asia which had started with the victory of Great October Socialist Revolution.

The people of Afghanistan raised the flag of independence and freedom over our beautiful country for the first time in Asian continent. This great victory over the British colonial imperialism was changed into a shining and high example of peoples' struggle for determining their destiny and into a striking force in the independence struggle of the colonized nations of the continent of Asia especially the Muslim peoples.

The fraternal aids of the young Republic of Soviets under the leadership of the great friend of the peoples of Afghanistan and all eastern nations and Muslims V. I. Lenin, to our country in the first difficult days after the regaining of independence are considered as an outstanding example of new type of friendship in the relations between peoples, states and nations.

Dear compatriots, The British aggressive colonialism took the harmful path of occupancies, intrigues and deceptions against the independence of Afghanistan which had been achieved at the expense of the noble lives of thousands of the best sons of our country and continued in a new manner with its intervention in our country.

Having made use of the backwardness of the country and having resorted to more shameful means and stunts inciting fanaticism and superstitions, uprisings



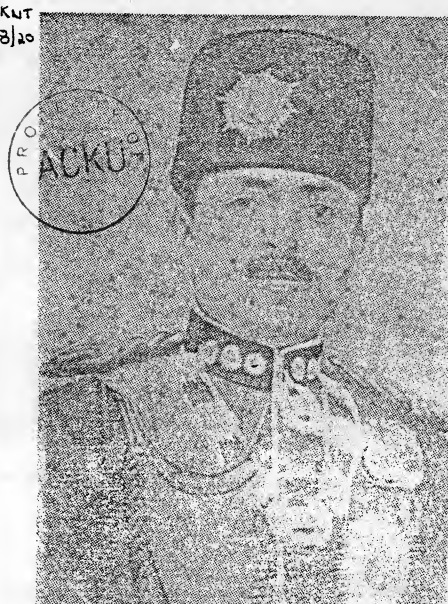
Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the RC delivering his speech on the occasion of the 64th anniversary of the independence of the country. (Photo: Bakhtar)

and disorder through its agents, the British state brought the young Amans to failure and imposed its installed government in the person of one of the recognised and cunning agents of colonialism, on our country. The historic experience of this period is of great historical importance as far as the recognition of the friends and foes of our people and our beloved homeland is concerned. The people of Afghanistan

despite the suppression and despotism reigning in the country continued with their brave struggles for the downfall of the maddest of the exploiting and oppressive classes.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan as a heir of the best revolutionary traditions brought about liberation struggle of the toilers of our country, in legal connection with the world revolutionary movement. Our party was able

to give direction to the struggles of our toiling peoples and by bringing the Saur Revolution to victory it not only realised the independence-seeking aspirations of our people but also opened up the way for radical transformations in the benefit of the oppressed peoples of our country.



His Majesty late Amanullah Khan Ghazi, during his reign the brave people of Afghanistan gained the independence of the country. KUT 8/18

KUT 8/18

6/14 - CSM - Louis Wiznitzer writes that "prospects for a peaceful settlement of the Afghan dilemma are improving," according to officials involved in working out the settlement. The Geneva talks may lead to a preliminary accord before the end of the month, which will mean that 97% of the draft agreement will have been drawn up. The USSR & the US will have the final say & in that the US's attitude will be critical.. The package will be based on 1) the phased pullout of Soviet troops, 2) the gradual return of refugees to Afghanistan & 3) int'l guarantees by the UN Security Council (mainly the USSR, China & the US) of non-intervention in Afghanistan. The article states that the Reagan administration does not seem to be willing "to roll out a red carpet for the Soviet exit from Afghanistan... If Pakistan is not sufficiently forthcoming at Geneva, the Soviets could stir up separatist sentiment" in Baluchistan. And if Pakistan is too soft at Geneva, it risks losing US economic & military support. (See 6/25 & 8/17)

- PT - Mujahideen commander Faisal, responsible for resistance operations in the region east of Kabul, reportedly was killed last week while leading an attack on a convoy going from Jalalabad to Kabul.

6/15 - NYT - Villages near Paghman were shelled by Soviet & DRA forces on 6/8. The bombardment followed a 6/7 ambush of Soviet trucks by guerrilla forces. The report stated that the Logar Valley was also shelled; that sounds of gunfire had increased in Kabul since the beginning of Ramazan; & that a gunfight had taken place in Kabul between DRA soldiers & local police. Several people were killed in the incident which involved a search for eligible conscripts for the DRA army.

6/16 - NYT - William Stevens writes that Niaz Naik, sec'y of the Pakistan Foreign Ministry, was not hopeful about a political settlement of the Afghan question. Naik said he thought that the Soviets now realized that the insurgency was an indigenous movement rather than the creation of outside forces. Some analysts feel this could make it easier to reach an agreement.

6/16 - FEER - "Following an informal agreement with the Kabul regime & the Soviets, Pakistan has decided to move about 500,000 of the 3m Afghan refugees in the country away from the Afghan border. They are to be relocated in Azad Kashmir. The refugees are armed & are Islamic fundamentalists, & thus their presence close to the Indian state of Jammu & Kashmir will be a matter of concern to the Indian government." Pakistan officials call the report absolutely baseless (Pakistan Affairs 8/14).

- Romey Fullerton writes that "reports from inside Afghanistan suggest that masses of 'internal refugees' could starve to death." DRA officials have said: "There is no clear evidence of a food shortage"...

But a survey has been made privately by an agronomist from Kabul. Azam Gul was well respected for his work in plant science at Kabul University until his defection from the capital to Pakistan last year. Once in Peshawar, he enrolled his former students as researchers and launched a study of the state of food production in Afghanistan. He avoided contentious political issues and has produced a lengthy and, by any standards, highly objective analysis. His findings are startling.

Wheat is the staple crop in Afghanistan. The survey results show that in 1982 wheat production was on average down to 20.4% of the 1978 level. Similarly, corn production was 23% of the 1978 total, rice 26%, barley 26% and cotton slightly in excess of 12%. Even more alarming were his figures for the 1982 harvest, which produced only half the previous year's crops. This showed that the decline in agricultural production was accelerating sharply.

(FEER
6/16)

Azam Gul's survey also showed that a labour shortage had become marked. In 1978 a farm would have had an average of 4.6 labourers, but four years later this had fallen to 2.2. Fully 52% of the country's labour force was absent — and he says the number of workers continues to decline. In terms of acreage cultivated, his survey found that whereas in 1978 an average farm would have 46% of its land cultivated, by 1982 the proportion had sunk to a mere 16%.

By 1982 the yield of wheat, in terms of weight of produce per land unit, had fallen to 54% of the 1978 level. Rice had fallen to 35% of the 1978 yield, barley to 60% and cotton to 70%. The decline in yield was also accelerating: in 1981 the wheat yield was still 70% of the 1978 level, but by the following year the figure was reduced by a sudden 16%. The price of wheat seed had soared — by 145% between 1978 and 1982. There was a decline in the use of all fertilisers. The national irrigation systems were not being adequately maintained.

The survey document concludes: "The reports of food shortages in Afghanistan are substantially confirmed by the results of our survey. In all of the five major crops, there has been a uniform decline in production. The 1982 harvest has yielded between one-quarter and one-fifth of that in 1978. The latter harvest may be assumed to have provided sufficient food for the population of Afghanistan at that time. Although it is probable that the population has declined by something approaching one-third, clearly the present agricultural production can in no way sustain the remaining population."

"Indeed, one measure of the government's acknowledgment of the food deficit is the import in 1982 of 240,000 tonnes of wheat from the Soviet Union. This is unfortunately a cold comfort, as the same factors which have depressed production — poor logistics, high transport costs, lack of access by government services to the bulk of the rural population — will prevent those in need from receiving their share of this import. The causes of this disaster remain with us, and this is perhaps the most dismaying fact of all..."

6/20 - NYT - The sec'y of the DRA Defense Ministry, Moh'd Shafiq Ahangar, & his son reportedly were killed on 6/9 when a guerrilla mine exploded in Paktia Province.

6/21 - NYT - Americares, a private relief group, announced its plans to send between \$2 - 4m worth of medical supplies to Afghan refugees in August.

- PT - The National Assembly of Kuwait reaffirmed its support for the people of Afghanistan & their struggle against the Soviet invasion.

6/22 - NYT - Afghan guerrillas carried out intensive attacks on Kabul & suburbs June 11-15. They reportedly captured ammunition & took some prisoners in an attack in the Defense Ministry area.

- And this from the South China Morning

Post: A scandal has shaken Moscow's military establishment after the discovery that Soviet troops in Afghanistan were using coffins to smuggle furs and Japanese electronic goods back home.

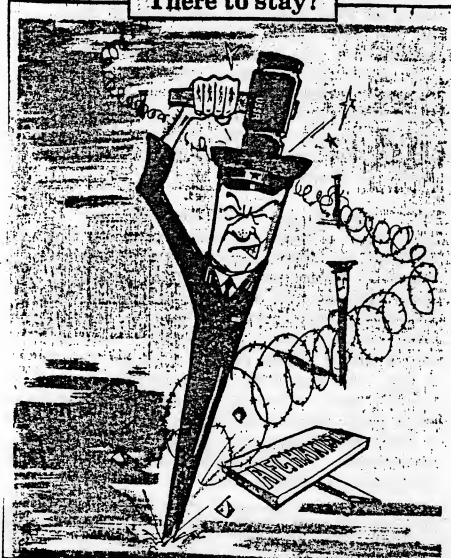
Four Air Force non-commissioned officers involved in the smuggling have been given heavy labour camp sentences by a court outside Moscow, and 40 soldiers were awaiting trial, according to unofficial sources.

6/25 - NYT - John Darnton reports from Geneva that seven days of the UN talks ended with no major progress on any significant issues. Diego Cordovez said, "Further progress" has been made but that "obstacles" remained & that the negotiating process was long & difficult & sudden breakthroughs should not be expected. Cordovez will continue his shuttle diplomacy but no date has been set for further talks.

6/26 - NYT - Charles Dunbar, former charge d'affaires at the US Embassy in Kabul who recently returned after an 18-month tour of duty, said the war in Afghanistan would be a long standoff. The resistance continues to show "incredible resiliency" but Moscow has a determined & long-term commitment to the conflict & continually reaffirms the irreversibility of the coup that brought the Moscow-controlled Communist Party to power.

- Pakistan Times - The former Vice Chancellor of Kabul Univ., Dr. Moh'd Haider, defected to Pakistan with his family. (See p.24)

There to stay?



More on smugglers from Christopher Dobson in the FEER of 8/11

China Daily 6/2

It is said that all occupying armies are eventually corrupted by the country they occupy. It would seem that the Soviets in Afghanistan are no different from any other occupiers. The guerrilla war in Afghanistan has in fact added a new link in the chain of corruption in Soviet society that President Yuri Andropov is trying to fight, and a whole new market place for Soviets out to make a fast ruble.

The black marketeers on both sides in the Afghan conflict forget national differences and cooperate in their illegal capitalist endeavours on a scale which enrages the Soviet authorities, who find it virtually impossible to coax any degree of willing cooperation out of the ordinary Afghan. Soldiers sell their equipment, even rifles and ammunition, though they

know they may be used against their comrades. In a macabre development recently, four members of a Soviet air transport unit were arrested for smuggling furs in the coffins of soldiers killed fighting Afghan rebels.

A senior member of the Khalq faction of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has also fallen victim to Andropov's attempted crackdown. Sent to

the Soviet Union on official business, he took the opportunity to do some black marketeering on the side and was subsequently understood to be undergoing examination in the Lefortovo prison, the KGB investigation centre in Moscow.

6/27 - Pakistan Times - The inter-aid committee of the World Church Council has set up 4 medical centers for Afghan refugees in the Chagai District of Baluchistan. The committee has also started an education program for refugees at Gulistan, Surkhab, Saranan & Loralia. The program includes child & adult education & vocational training for women.

6/29 - Daily News - Afghan warplanes killed a number of civilians in bombing raids on villages near Paghman after a guerrilla attack that killed 50-60 DRA soldiers.

6/30 - NYT - Washington authorities say that Pakistan & adjoining areas of Afghanistan have surpassed SE Asia as the biggest supplier of heroin. William Stevens writes: "In the last 6-9 months the region has become the source of as much as 85-90% of all the heroin sold in New York City..." Pakistanis have moved into international trafficking but officials say that "far more opium is grown across the border in Afghanistan than in Pakistan & that Afghan fields provide a ready source of heroin-makings for laboratories in the tribal areas of Peshawar."

7/1 - Pak. Times - APP reports that Ethiopian troops are being used by the Soviets in Afghanistan. The Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Alliance disclosed that Soviets are training the troops in Ethiopia & then sending them to Afghanistan to join the Cuban, Czech, East German & South Yemen troops already there.

- NYT - US Sec'y of State Shultz, on an 11-day visit to Asia, discussed Afghanistan with Indira Gandhi in India.

- From the Hindustan Times the following, headlined: "Three stoned to death for adultery in Afghan camp".

citizen did not prevent the refugees and their camp leaders to pass the sentence they had passed in the name of their norms in a foreign country.

Afghan refugees must respect the laws of the host country, comments here say. Naturally, they have been allowed and should be allowed in future to live in the spirit of their traditions and customs.

However, it is pointed out, so long as the refugees enjoy the hospitality of this country, a clear-cut line must be drawn to specify the limits to which their customs and traditions are in accord with the laws of the country in which they sojourn temporarily. The point must also be specified at which their manifestations infringe upon the rights and privileges of Pakistani citizens.

Since some time ago, Pakistani citizens have been complaining more frequently against their being destroyed economically under the tide of refugees from Afghanistan.

The Afghans here developed their business on a large scale, in Peshawar, Aroita and other major places, they force down prices on the market, take over transport and trade, houses and land.

For this reason, the Pakistan Government has recently decided that the Afghans would be banned from the purchase and possession of real estate.

The Press revealed that in the north-western border province alone the refugees have some 3,000 lorries. They extend forwarding services throughout the country at appreciably lower prices.

What had been only hinted at here in the past but is now expressed daily is the fear that out of such position, a lot of refugees will renounce repatriation--when that day comes.

7/2 - Hindustan Times - Pakistan is shifting some 200,000 Afghan refugees from the NWFP & Baluchistan to Punjab. Initially 40,000 will move followed by others at the rate of about 600 per day. (See 6/16)

7/3 - NYT - US State Sec'y Shultz arrived in Pakistan yesterday on an official visit. "Mr. Shultz said he recently exchanged letters with FM Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union about the Afghan situation, but declined to give any details." On 7/4 (NYT) Shultz told Afghan refugees at the Nasir Bagh camp, "Fewer fighters for freedom, we are with you." The FEER (7/14) carried the following report on the Shultz visit by Salamat Ali & Romey Fullerton:

During his visit to Pakistan, Shultz made it quite clear that Afghanistan was the most pressing consideration in US policy towards Islamabad. He toured an Afghan refugee camp in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, peered into Afghanistan from a Pakistani military outpost in the Khyber Pass, and told cheering Afghan tribal leaders that the US stands with them. He also gave the impression that Washington has renewed confidence in Pakistan's ability to hold the line in the United Nations-sponsored negotiations in Geneva to seek a solution to the Afghan problem.

Previously, the impression had been conveyed by Washington of its concern that Pakistan was prepared to make too many concessions to the Soviets to hasten a settlement in Afghanistan. Significantly, after the last round of Geneva talks last month, US officials in Islamabad, briefing the press on the coming Shultz visit, dropped a line that a settlement in Afghanistan would mean that Pakistan would slip back in the queue for US military and economic aid.

Pakistan has to tread a precarious path on the Afghan issue if it is not to jeopardise its highly prized non-aligned status. Three days before Shultz arrived, Soviet Ambassador to Islamabad Vitaly Smirnov said in a local press interview that Pakistan has been creating difficulties for itself in order to please its foreign friends.

ISLAMABAD, June 30 (Tanjug) - The presence of about three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan poses for the Islamabad Government a problem which grows more difficult everyday.

Events of the past weeks and months in and around the Afghan refugee camps, mainly concentrated in Baluchistan and north-west frontier provinces bordering Afghanistan, are causing increasing concern to the local population.

An incident which several days ago stirred the public and sparked off bitter Press commentaries has again drawn attention to the refugee problem.

At an Afghan refugee camp in the Swat Valley, three persons were stoned to death after an Afghan woman was accused of adultery with a Pakistani policeman working at the camp. The death sentences were carried out in the cruelest manner in the centre of the refugee settlement. The husband also paid with his life for the wife's adultery.

The incident embittered and concerned the Pakistani public. At the same time, Press comments warn that serious consideration must be given to the causes and effects of this event.

This is because even the fact that one of the victims was a Pakistani

7/3 - NYT - Five of the 46 Afghans detained in Brooklyn were released on parole under a modification in immigration policy. 14 others could be released in the next few weeks. The modification "allows the parole of aliens who have received final orders of deportation & who within 30 days of those orders have not been issued travel documents from another country. If these papers arrive, they can be deported."

Shomali area & in Logar, Ghazni & Kandahar. The number of refugees in Pakistan & Iran is put at 4.5m. The same article quoted Karmal (via Tass) as saying on 7/3: "There are no major armed bands left in Afghanistan now."

7/8 - Pak. Times - The DPM of Canada, Allan MacEachen, on a visit to Pakistan, said his country "seeks a complete pullout of all foreign troops & restoration of an independent non-aligned Afghanistan..."

7/9 - Pak. Times - A Soviet offensive on 6/19 to recapture Aaq Tappa, a village in Kunduz on the Soviet border, failed & the Soviets lost a MIG, vehicles and several soldiers.

7/10 - Pak. Times - Tass reports that the USSR is satisfied with the latest round of Geneva talks.

7/11 - NYT - The Yugoslav Press reported that guerrillas downed a Soviet bomber northeast of Kabul on 7/5 & that the pilot & a Soviet adviser were taken prisoner.

7/15 - AICMB #29) - Inayatullah Kargar, sec'y of the Party in Kandahar, Hamidullah, commander of the commando unit & 3 other Party activists reportedly were killed

7/19 - In case you haven't heard this one before, the Hong Kong Standard spells it out:

Stockholm (UPI) -- The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan because it feared an American invasion of Iran during the Iranian hostage crisis.

The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan was sparked by fears that the United States would invade Iran after the hostages were taken, according to Henry Troimenko, chief of a department of the US-Canada Institute in Moscow.

"We feared that the US would invade Iran, that was

the true reason (for entering Afghanistan)." Mr. Troimenko said in an interview published on Sunday in the Stockholm daily Dagens Nyheter.

"The US had concentrated enormous forces in the Arabic Sea and the Indian Ocean," he continued. "It was after the Iranian revolution and the American embassy personnel in Teheran had been taken hostage in November 1979. Our troops went in in December."



7/5 - NYT - West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, on a visit to the USSR, criticized the USSR for its continuing intervention in Afghanistan.

7/6 - NYT - Guerrillas attacked the Kabul airport "damaging some of Afghanistan's American-built DC-10 jetliners," diplomatic sources said. The guerrillas also blasted a hole in the Soviet-built grain silo in Kabul (see 7/7).

7/7 - The Statesman (India) - AFP reports that 700 DRA troops, "stationed at a strategic military outpost in northern Afghanistan surrendered after a 40-day siege cut them off from food & water supplies." Jamiat Islami fighters in Samangan diverted the river which provided the garrison with water. "Soviet military advisers were evacuated a month before the surrender. After the resistance agreed to spare the lives of the soldiers, the contingent surrendered on 6/9." Afghan army strength is put at 20,000.

- SCMP - Reuters reports that Afghan guerrillas attacked the Kabul airport last week & damaged an Ariana Boeing 727 & hit the DC-10 in the nose. Continuing clashes are taking place in the

7/19 - Pak. Times - Bangladesh & Iran, in a joint communique issued yesterday, "expressed concern over the Afghan situation & reiterated the need for immediate withdrawal of all forces of aggression from the country to enable the Muslim people of Afghanistan to determine their own future."

7/20 - Hong Kong Standard - Twelve elders from Ghazni were executed by the DRA in retaliation for a guerrilla attack (on 7/7) when 4 Soviets were killed. Security in Kabul was increased after Ramazan & 2 powerful searchlights have been set up on Mt. Asmai, overlooking Kabul. . Fighting continues in the Shomali area, Logar, the Bamian Valley & Paghman.

- AICMB #29 - A 4-engine plane carrying arms & ammunition to Khost was hit by mujahideen. The plane turned back but crashed on landing at Kabul airport.

- Pak. Times - Pres. Zia is on a state visit to Japan & Japan's support for Pakistan on the Afghan issue & Japan's commendation of Pakistan on her assistance to the Afghan refugees are getting big headlines in Pakistan. At the same time Pakistan & the USSR signed a 2-year renewal of their cultural & scientific cooperation protocol.

7/23 - Pak. Times - Japan will grant \$8.3 to the World Food Program for the purchase of wheat for Afghan refugees. Japan has contributed about \$44.7m through the UNHCR & the WFP since 1979.

7/26 - NYT - Two bombs exploded in Kabul yesterday killing a student & injuring 6 people, according to Kabul Radio.

7/27 - NYT - DRA troops & guerrillas both suffered heavy casualties in fierce fighting in Ghazni. 60 Soviet & DRA soldiers reportedly were killed; 30 tanks & other vehicles were destroyed & 20 elders were slain in retaliation (see 7/20).
- Hong Kong Standard - Western diplomats state that the "Soviets appear to be killing a certain number of people for every Soviet killed." A bomb exploded on 7/25 in the Golden Sweet Restaurant killing 5 & injuring 20. Chinese FM Wu Xueqian

arrived in Pakistan on 7/25 for a 5-day visit. The Pak. Times reported (7/29) that the FM called for a Soviet pullout & reiterated China's support for the struggle of the Afghan people.

- SCMP - Soviet paratroopers dropped into Istalif on 7/19 hoping to find insurgents. The guerrillas had disappeared; however, the next day guerrillas attacked Shakardah. The Soviets reportedly are using a new incendiary shell that burns everything within 15 meters of impact.

7/28 - NYT - Kabul Radio reported another blackout in Kabul, blaming "counter-revolutionaries" for the outage which affected the whole city.

- AICMB #29 - Saadruddin Hashemi, Vice Rector of Kabul U., was reportedly wounded while driving to his office. Some say he was attacked by non-Party students who had been complaining about discrimination between Party & non-Party students (see p.). Others think the attack came from Khalqis who are under heavy Parchami pressure at the university.

8/2 - Pak. Times - Pakistan reported that in the past 6 months its air space was violated 22 times & its territory 11 times by Afghanistan.

8/3 - AICMB #29 - Two MI-24 helicopter gunships were destroyed at Jalalabad airport & 8 Soviet soldiers were killed in a mujahideen raid. Soviets bombed villages south of the airport in reprisal.

8/4 - Pak. Times - "Tsar Nicholas II has been rehabilitated by the USSR but only those in Afghanistan able to understand Pushtu, Dari & Turki are aware of this historic development." Pamphlets published in these languages praise the Tsarist rulers who resisted the advance of British imperialism in Afghanistan. The booklets are issued by the Soviet Institute for the Study of the People's of Asia & are aimed at Afghans between 15 & 25 years of age.

8/5 - AICMB #29 - A DRA military outpost at Qala-e-Moqamkhana, just south of Jalalabad, was destroyed by mujahideen.

8/8 - US News & World Report says "foreign weapon supplies (to Afghanistan) are also on the rise. Today, guerrilla forces rely on weapons captured from Soviet & Afghan government troops for about 80% of their firepower. But the US, working through Egypt, is stepping up clandestine shipments of arms. Included for the 1st time are bazookas, heavy mortars, grenade launchers & recoilless rifles."

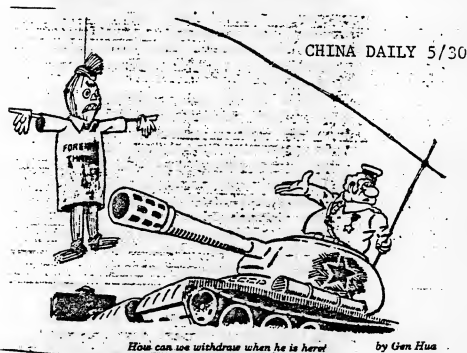
8/10 - AICMB #29 - Guerrilla groups attacked the Balahissar Fort. Before the attack they had made contact with some of the Afghan officers inside the fort & had agreed on simultaneous attacks from inside & outside. During the battle the Soviet commando commander & 17 Russians were killed along with 23 Afghan Party activists. Nothing is yet known about the mutineers.



8/11 - NYT - The 6th Assembly of the World Council of Churches voted on a "resolution that supports a proposal for an end to the conflict in Afghanistan put forward by the Sec'y Gen'l of the UN." Some delegates favored a stronger resolution but Soviet delegates fought against it saying that a condemnation of the USSR could lead to "a disruption of relations between the Council and the Russian Orthodox Church."

8/17 - NYT - A Soviet tank crew fired on a tea house in Mazar-i-Sharif killing or wounding 50 civilians. A sniper had killed a Soviet soldier standing in the turret of a nearby tank. Not finding the sniper, the Soviets blasted the tea shop.

8/17 - AWSJ - "Afghan Peace Negotiations Go Nowhere," writes Paul Gigot from Islamabad. In spite of UN Sec'y Cordovez' claim that a negotiated settlement was 95% complete, a diplomat says, "He was only correct if the remaining 5% included all the important issues." The same article reports that Iran now claims to have 1.5m Afghan refugees, Pakistan 3m.

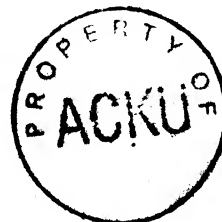


8/18 - Pak. Times - Chaffar Khan was placed under house arrest in Pakistan.

8/21 - NYT - Abdul Rasool Sayyaf reports that mujahideen shot down 3 MIG-23s, destroyed 40 tanks & killed 1,500 Soviet & DRA troops in July. The mujahideen lost 26 men. Sayyaf also stated in a news conference in Islamabad that the guerrillas would not allow (ex)King Moh'd Zahir Shah to return to Afghanistan. "We will kill him the moment he sets his foot on Afghan soil," he said. The article reports that the King & 3 other mujahideen leaders met recently in Rome to discuss unifying the Afghan resistance. (See p. 19)

8/23 - NYT - Zahir Shah announced yesterday that he would "resume political activity to give an official voice to the Afghan resistance" at the UN-sponsored talks on the conflict. Some guerrillas have accepted the 68-year-old ex-king's offer; others have not. (See 8/24)

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AFGHANISTAN FORUM, INC.
201 EAST 71ST STREET, 2K
NEW YORK, NY 10021

Line Drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar
The Chicago Afghanistan Relief
Committee



ABBREVIATIONS USED

PT - Pakistan Times
CSM - Christian Science Monitor
KNT - Kabul New Times
NYT - New York Times
FEER - Far Eastern Economic Review
AWSJ - Asian Wall Street Journal
WSJ - Wall Street Journal
AICMB - Afghanistan Information Ctr. Monthly Bulletin
PDPA - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
CC - Central Committee
NFF - National Fatherland Front
NWFP - North West Frontier Province
DYOA - Democratic Youth Organization of
Afghanistan
DRA - Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
WDOA - Women's Democratic Organization of
Afghanistan

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201 East 71st Street, 2K
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